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Lahndi Phonology

[With special reference to Awáṇkárí]

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Lahndi Phonology

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CONTENTS

Contents iii
A word iv
Chart of Phonetic Symbols and Pronunciation v
List of Abbreviations used vii
INTRODUCTION ix
PHONOLOGY OF I-A. ELEMENT
I. Preservations 1
II. Extinctions 13
III. Modifications 25
IV. General Problems in Modifications 55
V. Phonetic Semantic Modifications 71
VI. Extensions (including History of Final Sounds) 79
VII. Onomatopoetic Formations 101
VIII. Agents of Change 117
IX. Possibilities (including Obscurities & Deshis of the Dialect) 143
PHONOLOGY OF FOREIGN ELEMENT
X. Persian Element 155
XI. English Element 193
Bibliography 209
Index of Lahndi Words and Sounds 212
Index of Source Sounds 234
Index of Subjects 237

A WORD

The present work is a part of the thesis submitted to the Punjab University, Lahore, in 1941 and approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Oriental Faculty. It is now being published without any alteration or addition, except that the two parts—the descriptive and the historical—have been separated into two volumes, viz.

Part I—Lahndi Phonetics
Part II—Lahndi Phonology.

In preparing this thesis I was guided and helped by my revered Guru, Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, to whom I shall always remain indebted. In fact, it is he who initiated me into the science of language. Himself a Lahndi speaker and philologist, he has been usefully critical and constructive in his suggestions.

I am also grateful to my teacher Dr. A. C. Woolner (died 1936), Principal of the University Oriental College, and Dean and Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University, and to Dr. B. D. Jain (died 1952), Head of the Hindi Department, Punjab University, for their valuable help and encouragement in the field of linguistic research.

KURUKSHETRA :
16th July, 1962.

HARDEV BAHRI
Head of Hindi Department
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CHART OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS AND PRONUNCIATION

^ High-falling tone on the preceding vowel, as in **lá^**, to take down, **ki^l**, to ease oneself by force.
/ Rising tone, see p. xx.
˘ Low rising tone, see p. xv-xvi.
˜ Nasalization of the preceding vowel, as in **Jio˜**, **əkhesa˜**.
< is derived from the following.
> develops into the following.
√ root-form.
ˈ the minute over a vowel shows the lengthening; and separately, indicates that the following syllable is stressed.
ə unstressed a, as in 'abound'.
ʌ,a short a, as in 'bud'.
á,ɒ. long and open á, as in 'all'.
a͡i Front open vowel, as in 'sat'.
ɯ Back open vowel, opener than **o**.
[Note that these are distinguished from **ai, aí, ái, áí, au, aú, áu, áú,** which are diphthongs].
b voiced bilabial plosive, as in 'bat'.
c unvoiced palato-alveolar fricative, as in 'church'.
d voiced dental plosive, as in 'the'.
ḍ retroflex d, as in 'dull'.
[**bh, ch, dh,** and **ḍh** are the aspirated forms as in **bhirá,** brother, **chole,** grams, **dhúṛ,** dust, **ḍhol,** drum].
e half-open front vowel, as in 'ate'.
f labiodental, as in 'fate'; in loanwords.
g voiced guttural, as in 'go'.
[**gh** is aspirated form of g, as in **ghin,** take].
G voiced uvular, as in Arabic ; in loanwords.
h glottal as in 'hat'.
H uvular; in Arabo-Persian.
i half close short front vowel, as in 'bid'.
í close long front vowel, as in 'me'.
j semi-vowel, as in 'yes'; in Non-Lahndi words = J.
J voiced palato-alveolar, as in 'joke' , **Játuk,** child.

k unvoiced guttural, as in 'kite'.
[aspirated forms of J and **k** are **Jh** and **kh**, as in **Jhʌllá**, foolish, **kheḍ**, play].
kh as in 'loch', shown in Persian words, = **x**.
l alveolar lateral, as in 'look'.
m bilabial nasal, as in 'moon'.
n alveolar nasal, as in 'noon'.
ṅ guttural nasal, shown in Skt. words.
n̄ palatal nasal, shown in Skt. words.
ṇ retroflex nasal, as in **bhāiṇ**, sister.
o half open back round vowel, as in 'nose'.
p voiceless bilabial, as in 'pull'.
[**ph** is aspirated form of **p**, as in **phʌṭ**, wound.]
q uvular k ; in Arabo-Persian.
r alveolar rolled consonant, as in 'rat'.
ṛ retroflex r, as in **choṛ**, leave.
s alveolar fricative, as in 'sit'.
sh post-alveolar fricative, as in 'she'.
ṣ retroflex s in Skt., and alveolar in Persian words.
t voiceless dental, as in French 'table'.
ṭ retroflex t, as in **ṭopí**, cap.
[**th** & **ṭh** are aspirated forms, as in **thálí**, plate, and **ʌṭh**, eight].
T dental Arabo-Persian sound.
u short close back vowel, as in 'book'.
ú long half-close back vowel, as in 'boot'.
v labio-dental voiced semi-vowel, as in 'very'.
x =**kh** above, as in **rʌxut**, hide.
y semivowel, as in 'yes' ; in Skt. or foreign words.
z voiced form of **s**, as in 'zebra'.
[The various Arabo-Persian forms of **z** have been narrated].
ʕ =Arabic *ain* (post-glottal plosive).
ʔ =Arabo-Persian *hamza*, is a glide.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

Acc.	accusative	n.	noun
adj.	adjective	N.E.	North East
Amg.	Ardhamágadhí	NI., NIA	New Indo-Aryan
Ap., Apa.	Apabhramsha	nom.	nominative
Ar., Arab.	Arabic	no.	number
Ass., Assam.	Assamese	obl.	oblique case
Aw., Awan.	Awankari	OIA	Old Indo-Aryan
B., Beng.	Bengálí	onom.	onomatopoetic
cf.	compare	p.	page
chap.	chapter	P.	Pákhṛí (Introduction), Punjabi
Dera.	Deráwálí		
E.	Exception (in chap. III)	Pa.	Pali
		Per.	Persian
e.g.	for example	PI, PIA	Primitive Indo-Aryan
Eng.	English		
etc.	*et cetra*	Pk., Pkt.	Prakrit
ff.	followings	pl.	plural
G., Guj.	Gujráti	pp.	pages
H.	Hindi	PP.	Past participle
IA.	Indo-Aryan	P.S.M.	Phonetic Semantic Modification
IE.	Indo-European		
i.e.	that is	R.	Reshí
Inst.	Instrumental	S.	Sindhí
Jm.	Jain Mágadhí	Santh.	Santhálí
L.	Lahndí	sing.	singular
LSI	Linguistic Survey of India	Sk., Skt.	Sanskrit
		tbh.	tadbhava
M.A.	Master of Arts	tsm.	tatsama
Mar.	Maráṭhí	v.	verb
Masc.	masculine	viz.	namely
Mḍ.	Munḍá	voc.	vocative
MI., MIA.	Medieval Indo-Aryan	vol.	volume
		W.	Waṇáḍhí
Mon.	Monkhmer	W.P.	West Punjabi

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Lahndi

Lahndi is a modern Indo-Aryan language spoken in the West Punjab (now in Pakistan). In the east it gradually merges into Eastern Punjabi in the tract between the rivers Chenab and the Ravi. In the west it blends into Pashto dialects and in the north into some forms of Dardic languages. In the south-west it mixes with Balochi and in the south with Sindhi and Rajasthani. Except in the east, the boundaries of Lahndi are pretty well-marked.

Map showing the locale of Lahndi. The pocket towards the east of Afghan-speaking area is the Lahndi tract.

Map showing the boundaries of Lahndi. The single letters indicate main dialects to which reference has been made in the following eight pages. [A] pocket is the Awankari area.

Although Sir George Grierson has rightly excluded a part of Montgomery and Gujranwala and whole of Lahore and Sialkot Districts from the Lahndi tract, the time is not far off when these areas will be totally affected by Lahndi dialects lying to their west. The migration of population since the partition of India and the formation of West Pakistan into a single unit are some of the factors which are bound to shift the eastern boundary of Lahndi to the political border. For centuries, it has been noted, eastern Punjabi has pushed Lahndi further to the west, but the events since 1947 have not only stopped that encroachment by eastern Punjabi, but given Lahndi a chance to retrieve its position in the eastern districts of West Pakistan which has now no communication with the Indian tracts where eastern Punjabi is vastly spoken.

Grierson has distinguished three forms of Lahndi—Southern Standard, North-Western and North-Eastern. The southern dialects (Shāhpurī, Jhangī, Multānī, Derāwāli, Thalī, etc.) are spoken in the regions south of the Salt Range including the districts of Shahpur, Jhang, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Sheikhupura, Gujrat, Multan, Bahawalpur, Muzaffargarh, Dera Ghazi Khan and Mianwali. The number of speakers is about five million. The North-Western dialects (Hindko, Soháin, Dhanocī, etc.) are spoken in the Districts of Dera Ismail Khan, Bannu, Kohat, Attock, Jhelum, Peshawar and Hazara. The number of speakers is about one million. The North-Eastern Dialects (Poṭhowārī, Chibālī, Awāṇkārī, Ghebī, etc.) are spoken by about two million people in the districts of Rawalpindi, Hazara, Attock, Shahpur and Poonch (in Kashmir).

Awāṇkārī is the dialect with which the present treatise is mainly concerned.

The Awans

The Awans are an important tribe whose origin is still a mystery. Their own story is that they are of Arab origin, being descended from Qutub Shah Qadri Alwi*, and through him from Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law. At first they were called Alwis, i.e. people descended from Ali. They are mentioned as such by certain

*Qutub Shah is also called Hazrat ʿAon.

historians. Qutub Shah, who ruled at Herat in the first quarterly of the 11th century, joined Mahmud Ghaznavid in an invasion of the Punjab and received from him the name of Awan or "helper". The followers, including soldiers of Qutub Shah, were settled by Mahmud round about the Salt Range and here they became known by their newly-earned title of Awans, the "helpers", the word aʿánat meaning 'help' in Arabic. Arabian ancestory of the Awans is a favourite fiction.

General Cunningham holds that Awans or Anuwans were Rajputs who were settled here long before the time of Alexandar. Anu, the brother of Yadu, was their ancestor, and Taxiles of the Greek histories was an Awan chieftain.

Mr. A. Brandreth gives a third account of the Awans. He is of the opinion that they are descended from the Bactrian Greeks driven south from Balkh by Tartar hordes, and that they entered as an organized army into the Punjab from Herat not more than 300 years ago. This theory is improbable as the period of 300 years would bring them to the time of Akbar while there is agreement of opinion that the Awans are at least 800 years old.

I personally believe that the Awans were the Jat races living about the Salt Range. Here they were found by Mahmud of Ghazni, converted to Islam, given the title of Awans (helpers) and organized by Qutub Shah and his sons. In Peshawar they are always reckoned as Hindki which shows that they were Hindus first. This view is supported by Mr. Thomson* and Sir Denzil Ibbertson†; and in the Shahpur District Gazetteer Wilson writes that the Awans, "so far as language, customs and physique go, are an indigenous Punjab tribe" Mr. Lepel Griffin also thinks that they were originally Hindus. This also agrees with the speech of these people which is essentially Indo-Aryan, as the following pages will show. Further a study of the manners,

* Jhelum District first Settlement Report.
† Punjab Census Report, 1881, para 405.

superstitions* (which have always a long tale and old history), and modes of living of these people reveal that they were not Muslims in origin.

An Awan is, in appearance also, Aryan. He represents "the race of warrior poets who despised the arts of commerce and lived mostly by agriculture, with one hand on the sword and the other on the plough." His main occupation is agriculture. Awans are hard-working cultivators. Their women, who never keep *purdah*, do a lot of help-work. They milch the kine, churn their milk, feed the cattle at home, fetch water, prepare meals, grind corn, spin and darn and do many other duties besides their work at the farm, such as cotton-picking, watching the crops and gleaning the fields at harvest. Between the seed-time and the harvest-time, men have not much to do, except to feed the cattle. Their idleness, drought and hard times have told upon them so that they are much in debt. They are a curious instance of a peasant tribe with aristocratic tradition and indebted condition.

The Awans have frank and pleasing manners, but everywhere they are headstrong and irascible to an unusual degree. Their characteristic failings are vindictiveness and proneness to keep alive old feuds.

The Awans are an orthodox race. As a rule, they do not give their daughters in marriage to other tribes. They dislike leaving their homes, except for military service which they enjoy; and even in the army they mix among themselves. Their organization is still tribal as was that of the Aryan immigrants of old.

The Habitat of the Awans

There is consensus of opinion, as shown above, that the Salt

*They must not start on a journey on certain days of the week. To meet a sweeper, a dog, a Khatri, a maiden, a horseman or a donkey is considered fortunate. It is unlucky to meet a Brahman, a Mulla, a cat, a widow and so on. It is considered very unlucky for a cow to calve in the month of Bhádo", for a mare to drop a foal in Sáwan and so on. A child of one sex born after three children of the opposite sex portends misfortune to the parents, etc.

Note—Only the Pathans care for none of these things.

Range was the first home of the Awans. From here they spread into the adjoining portions of Mianwali, Shahpur, Jhelum and Attock Districts. At present they are scattered all over the western Punjab and some souls may be found even outside the Province. At first the word 'Awankari' was applied to the country the Awans ruled, viz., the regions east and west of the Salt Range. Its use was afterwards restricted, and to-day the exact place which is called "Awankari" tract is in and about the Talagang Tehsil in Attock District, to the north-west of the Salt Range. Even in the Ain-i-Akbari of Abul-Fazl (Akbar's reign), it is this tract which is mentioned as Awan Mahal, the place of the Awans.*

The Awankari tract is separated from the rest of the Attock District by the Sohan river on its north. It has the Salt Range on its south-east, the mountainous *ilaqa* of Makhad on its west, and the Gabhir stream on its east. It is a high-lying plateau, the whole area being scoured by the deep beds of numerous torrents and fretted everywhere by innumerable small ravines and gullies. The area is about 1400 Sq. miles and lies between 32°32′ and 33°8′ north latitude and 72°4′ and 72°34′ east longitude.

It appears that the Awankari tract has been a big jungle with plenty of arrable land within, which accounts for feuds, murders, the system of hamlets and subdialects and mixtures of dialects. 'This country was out of the track of the invading armies of the Persians, Greeks, Scythians, Afghans, Turks and Mughals. The tract contains but few remains of archaeological interest. The Muslim rulers were never interested in this tract. None of the Sikh *misls* had their home in the country north of the Jhelum.

The population of the Awankari tract is more than 1,00,000 of which 52 per cent are males. The Awans comprise 83 per cent of the total population and 74 percent of the land-owning and farming classes.

Awankari Language

In the following pages Awankari refers to the language of the

*Tarikh-i-Alwi, by M. Hyder Ali Awan, P. 45; Census Report 1881.

tract described above. This is the name of the language by which it is called by the people themselves. It is more or less a tribal dialect, sharing no doubt the peculiarities and common features of Lahndi as distinguished from Punjabi. Sir George Grierson (L. S. I., Vol. VIII, part I, pp. 450 ff.) thinks it to be a form of the North-Eastern dialect of Lahndi and connects it with Poṭhowárí. The following pages will show that it has closer affinities with Thalí, Sháhpurí and Dhanocí than with Poṭhowárí.

Sir George distinguishes the southern from the northern dialect on the following grounds—

(1) that **gʌchṇá**, to go, **ʌchṇá**, to come, are peculiar to the north-eastern, the south having **vʌ̃Juṇ** and **ávuṇ**, respectively. (p. 243)*

(2) that the north-eastern dialects use the pronouns **maĩ̃ḍá**, mine, **taĩ̃ḍá**, thine, while the southern dialects use **merá** and **terá**. (p. 243).

(3) that in the north-eastern dialect the pronominal suffixes of only the third person are commonly applied. (p. 431).

(4) that between the north and the south there are considerable variations of vocabulary. Some of the most important words are quite different. These words are **Jul**, go, **ghin**, take, and **hʌg**, can, in the north for **cʌl**, **laĩ** and **sʌk**, in the south. (p. 431).

(5) that the south does not use the oblique terminations **[e]** and **[i]**.

(6) that in the north the dative ends in **á̃** instead of **nú̃**.

(7) In the Salt Range Lahndi (i.e., N. E. dialect) there is a tendency to drop aspiration, as in **ḍil**, rock, **bárá̃**, twelve, instead of standard **ḍiˆl**, and **báˆrá̃**.

Sir George Grierson further compares Awankari with the Southern standard and adds—

(8) For become, **ho** is used, not **thí**. (P. 450).

(9) There is tendency to omit the aspiration of sonant aspirates. Thus **bhí**, is equal to **bí** (also).

(10) **puttur** is equal to **puttr** (son) in Awankari.

(11) The future of **ákhuṇ**, to say, is **ákhsá̃**, not **əkhesá̃**. (P. 452).

(12) Awankari is fond of nasalization. (P. 436).

*The pages refer to "L. S. I.", Vol. VIII, part I.

I may at once assert that the above statements with the single exception of no. (5) are all wrong and therefore misleading.

(1) Awankari and Ghebí do not have **gʌchṇá** and **ʌchṇá**. They use **vʌ̃Juṇ** and **ávuṇ**.

(2) Multáni, Thali and even Sháhpuri employ **maĩ̃ḍá**, and **taĩ̃ḍá**. In some southern dialects, no doubt, **merá** and **terá**, are employed, but they are loans from Punjabi. They are also common in some northern sub-dialects about the railway line.

(3) Awankari has pronominal suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd person and also in the plural number of 1st person. Absence of the suffix of first person singular only cannot detach it from the southern dialects.

(4) **ghin** is a universal Lahndi word. **Jul** and **hʌg** should not be allowed to become distinguishing features. We shall find a large number of important words differing in each village.

(5) It appears to be the only truth in the entire discussion by Sir George.

(6) Awankari employs also **ko** or **kõ** as the dative termination, Poṭhowárí uses **kí̃**, and Dhanocí has **-n** < **nú̃**. **á̃** is not at all a common feature of northern dialects.

(7) Grierson, unfortunately, did not notice the falling and rising tones in Waṇáḍhi and Reshí sub-dialects of Awankari. **ḍiˆl** is **ḍi᷄l** and **báˆrá̃** is **b᷄árá̃**, in Waṇáḍhí.

(8) Awankari has **thí** as well as **ho**, the former being more common.

(9) **bí** is from Skt. api- and therefore, is not a case of deaspiration. On the other hand, Awankari is free from what Grierson calls Dardic influence. (P. 235).

(10) The word **puttr** is wrongly recorded in Grierson's text of the Prodigal Son. Awankari has regular **[u]** sound in the penultimate position of such words.

(11) **ákhsá̃** is a new loanword from Ghebí or Poṭhowárí and is found in Reshí only. Awankari has **əkhesá̃**, **əkhesun**, etc.

(12) The nasalizated sounds recorded by Grierson are wrong.

The place of Awankari in Lahndi

Awankari is a mixed language. Its nearest relative is Ghebí

and then Dhanocí. It is true that if we take away [-dá] for Aw. -ná and [āi] for Aw. [e] from Dhanocí it would remain just a subdialect of Awankari. Similarly southern Awankari is closely allied to Sháhpurí and Kacchí. Poṭhowárí is a distant relative. Grierson's wedge is arbitrary and it is absurd to couple Awankari and Ghebí with Poṭhowárí.

Every dialect of Lahndi is connected with its neighbours, and each shades into the surrounding dialects. Each dialect has also its distinguishing features. The existence of Awankari is not at all a problem (as it has been to Grierson). Awankari is still being attacked by Sháhpurí and Thalí from the south west and by Dhanocí from the east. Our political, social and commercial relations with Dhanocí speaking people are growing and a large number of Awankars have adopted Dhanocí forms.

Some of the special features of the dialect are*—

(1) It contains a large number of mixtures and the consequent irregularities in grammatical forms, as we have seen above.

(2) Awankari is a dialect which contains a very copious number of words with a high-falling tone.

(3) There is hardly a sentence which has neither a tone nor aspiration.

(4) The treatment of PI consonant group—nasal and aspirated consonant—is peculiar in Awankari. The nasal is always dropped.

(5) The stress system in Awankari is most regular and simple. Pákhrí stress is exceptionally strong.

(6) The southern Lahndi [d] and [b], Deráwálí [g], Poṭhowárí [csh] and [k̰], [p̰], [c̰] and Dhanocí [ḛ] do not exist in Awankari.

(7) The existence of cerebral [l] in the speech of agriculturists is notable.

(8) Some of its diphthongs and triphthongs are unavailable in other dialects.

(9) The dialect contains a number of extensional suffixes unknown in other dialects.

(10) Awankari **ghísi, ghíse˜**, is a unique form of the root **ghin.**

(11) The termination in imperative future (2nd person) is **-e˜** in Awankari which is invariably **-í˜** in all the neighbouring dialects.

*For phonetic details, consult the "Lahndi Phonetics" by the author.

Other Lahndi Dialects	Awan.
ghinní˜, you take	**ghinne˜**
khaṛí˜, you may carry	**khaṛe˜.**

(12) The change of [-á] of the root to [āi] before conjugational termination is not found in Sháhpurí, Dhanocí, Thalí or Poṭhowárí. It is a remarkable preservation of í of seṭ verbs in PI.

(13) The use of liaison [v] is peculiar.

Other Lahndi dialects	Awankari
píṇá, drinking	**pívṇá**
píṇ, to drink	**pívuṇ**
cāul, rice	**cávul**,

etc.

(14) The pronouns **to˜ḍhá**, yours, **usá^˜**, him, **kor**, who, etc. are found only in Awankari.

(15) The postposition **ná**, of, and the present participle termination **-ná** appears to be unique.

(16) The conjugation of the subsidiary verb is also unique. See above.

(17) Reshí **kaṇí** (kṛtvá) though obscure is a unique form.

(18) **thívuṇ**, and **hovuṇ**, to be, exist side by side, though the former is more popular.

(19) The forms like **hikío˜ akhío˜** (from one eye) show a preservation of the tendency to fully decline an adjective in oblique.

(20) The accusative termination **[-á˜]** is not available in any other Lahndi dialect.

It is dangerous to make generalizations of phonological facts, but it appears from the following pages that Awankari is tenacious in preservations, regular in modifications, original in extensions and fresh with innovations.

It is yet too early to prepare the list of words found exclusively in Awankari. But there is no doubt that a very large number of words is confined to this dialect alone.

Linguistic Boundaries of Awankari

If we draw a straight line from north to south passing the East Gabhir, it will exactly divide Awankari from Dhanocí in the east and from Sohái˜ in the north east. Thus we find the villages of

Dewál and Muthrálá speaking Dhanocí and Soháĩ respectively. The existence of Dhanocí in the villages of Nakka Kahut, Murti and Nakka Rihan on the Awankari side of the East Gabhir is remarkable. The predominance of linguistic mixtures from Vanhárí sub-dialect or Dhanocí in the extreme south-east corner of Awankari (in the villages of Qadirpur and Bhilomar) can be explained by the fact that no natural boundary exists there between Vanhárí and Awankari.

As already described, the river Sohan forms the dividing line between Ghebí and Awankari. The villages of Dhok Pathan and Barwala, although administratively in Talagang Tehsil, are linguistically outside the Awankari tract. But the village Tráp lying across the Sohan is an Awankari speaking village. In fact in the north west corner Awankari has extended to Injra, which has been, for long time, the nearest railway station to the Awankars. Tráp lies on the road to Injra.

In the south there is no definite line. Although the Salt Range may be considered as the link between Awankari and Sháhpurí, yet on the Range itself there is a large number of villages of which some owe allegiance to one dialect and some to another. For instance, Jábá, in Shahpur District, is an Awankari speaking village. Most of the places on the northern side of the Salt Range speak Awankari mixed with borrowings from Sháhpurí.

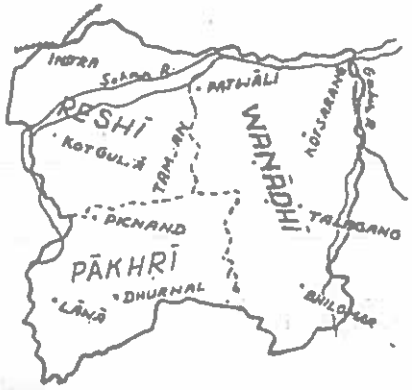
The West Gabhir distinctly divides Awankari from Lamocí dialect of Thalí. The villages of Danda Shah Balawal and Lawa, however, speak Awankari. Both of them lie about the main road from Talagang to Mianwali. Seven villages near Lawa do not speak Awankari.

It is right to call Awankari a geographical dialect.

Awankari Sub-dialects

Awankari has three sub-dialects, namely, Waṇáḍhí spoken about Talagang in the east of the tract, Reshí in the north west about Tamman-Multan, and Pákhṛí in the south-west about Picnand. The Ankaṛ stream roughly divides Waṇádhí from the other two sub-dialects, although dialectical mixtures do exist, particularly in villages about the two sides of that stream. A series of forest-groves,

locally known as Rakhs, forms the dividing line between Pákhṛí and Reshí. The position of village Camcá in the Pákhṛí tract is peculiar. It is an "island" inhabited by Pathans speaking Pashto. The non-Pathans in Camcá speak a form of Awankari with mixtures from Pashto vocabulary and accent.



Map showing the region of Awankari and its sub-dialects.

Pákhaṛ means the tract near the mountain side, < Skt. Pakṣa-, side. It lies immediately on the northern slope of the Salt Range down the Sakesar Hill. The big city of the tract is Láwá. Reshí is named after the stream "Resh" which flows almost in the middle of that tract. Waṇáḍh is the name of the vast plain between the East Gabhír and the Ankaṛ. Talagang is the centre of the Waṇáḍhí Speaking area.

The main points that distinguish these dialects are given below—

I. Pronunciation

An outsider cannot very well feel that inspite of vast similarities between these dialects, there are points of diversity which clearly separate them from one another. Briefly,

(1) Waṇáḍhí has preserved Prakrit aspiration. Reshí on the other hand shows traces of Thalí influence and deaspirates sounds.

In the following words, for example, Reshí has dropped the aspiration—

Aspiration in Reshí is not altogether absent.

W. **səbhá**, make ready	R. **səbá**
cú̃ḍhí, pinch	**cú̃ḍí**
gutthí, pocket	**gutti**

əmúdhá, upside down — **əmúdá**
ʌṭhtáĺí, forty eight — **ʌṭṭáĺí**
baghṇá, a string net — **bʌgṇá.**

Initial aspirates exist in all the three sub-dialects.

In Pákhṛí, the use of aspirated consonants varies among individuals. As a rule, villages near Waṇáḍhı employ aspirated consonants while those near Reshí de-aspirate them.

(2) The use of tone is more common in Waṇáḍhí than in Reshí. The same syllable is pronounced in Waṇáḍhí with a falling tone which starts in the middle register and falls suddenly at the end, and in Reshí with a rising tone which starts at a lower pitch and is sustained for a while before rising.

W	R
cá^ṛe, may cook	**cá / ṛe**
pʌ^ṛun, to read	**pʌ / ṛun**
shipá^ĺí, constable	**shipá / ĺ**
lá^˜, a rope	**lá / ˜.**

Pákhṛí speakers use both tones, the use varying with individuals and villages. Pákhaṛ is the meeting place of the two tones. As the result of this interaction, a new tone is in the making in Pákhṛí. It is shown below with **[h].** I have discovered it in a few words.

P. **təlhá,** tank — W. **təlá**
əgáhə˜, further — **əgá^˜**
ləhene, descending — **lāí^ne**
vəhenen, plough — **vāí^nen**
niháṇí, wife of barber — **niáṇí.**

(3) Reshí has a distinct tendency to reduce sounds. Examples—

W. **Jíkuṇ,** as — R. **Jí˜**
fāídá, profit — **fāíd**
əsiḍḍá, our — **ʌḍḍá**
tudhá˜, to you — **tuá˜**
sāṃ, hundred — **sāí**

etc.

(4) In this respect Pákhṛí also is a more modern language than Waṇáḍhí. Compare—

W. **Jitṇí,** as much — P. **Jittí**
ákhiá, said — R.,P. **ákhá**
Jhʌgṛá, quarrel — P. **Jheṛá.**

The more popular use of liaison in Reshí and Pákhṛı further

establishes this characteristic of the two south-western dialects.

(5) Pákhṛí stress is very strong, which explains the chief fact about that dialect that it is full of loud and long sounds.

(6) Stress has also resulted in clear doubling of consonants in Pákhṛí. Vide the chapter on quantity of consonants in the "Lahndi Phonetics."

(7) Pákhṛí and, more particularly, Reshí, avoid a number of diphthongs common in Awankari.

P. **gá,** went — W. **giá**
R. **ákhá,** said — **ákhiá**
P. **pighár,** wolf — **pighiár**
P. **á^˜,** we were — **āí^io˜**
P.,R. **Jí˜,** as — **Jio˜**
R. **gāí,** went — **gāíe**
R. **hʌlle,** slowly — **hʌ̄lle.**

(8) With the above may be considered the fondness of Pákhṛ and Reshí for Liaison. Compare—

P. **áiá viá,** has come — W. **áiá oiá**
núrá ná˜ vus, his name is — **núrá ná˜ us**

Nura

P.,R. **pʌvliáṇí,** wife of a weaver — **pʌ̄liáṇí**
R. **niháṇí,** wife of a barber — **niáṇí**
P.,R. **ḍívuṭ,** wick — **díuṭ**
leví, paste — **leí**
also **sərvesh,** gloy — **səresh.**

(9) A number of words in Reshí and Pákhṛí show how the two dialects are fond of Persianising or over-Persianising certain sounds.

P.,R. **vijá,** marriage — W. **viJá^**
P. **Guláb,** rose — **guláb**
P. **xətízá˜,** a name — **khətíJá˜**
P.,R. **beGuná,** innocent — **beguná^**
P.,R. **vʌxut,** time — **vʌkut**
P. **Gʌz,** yard — **gʌz,** or **gʌJ.**

(10) Some words in Pákhṛí have **[ḍ-]** for Reshí and Waṇáḍhí **[d-].** They are, of course, loans from southern dialects of Lahndi, now spreading into Awankari.

P. **ḍeJkí,** kettle — W. **deckí**
ḍívuṭ, wick — **díuṭ**
ḍerí, delay — **derí**

ḍʌbh, a grass — **dʌbh**
ḍi̇vá, lamp — **di̇vá**
ḍo^ṛá, couplet — **do^ṛá**.

(11) W. **ṭoḍá**, young of a camel, appears as **toḍá** in Reshi̇ and Pákhṛi̇ and **ṭhuḍḍá**, staggering, as **thuḍḍá**.

They are cases of disimilation or decerebralization for phonetic convenience.

(12) **vi̇**, (also), is **bi̇** in Pákhṛi̇.

(13) **[ṅ]** and **[n˜]** are heard even singly in Pákhṛi̇ and more so in Reshi̇, but it is not regular. The phenomenon may be a loan from some dialect. Compare—

P.,R. **vʌṅṅá˜**, bangles — W. **vʌṅgá˜**
Jʌn˜n˜á˜, marriage parties — **Jʌn˜Já˜**
ṭuṅ, tuck (v.) — **ṭuṅg**.

(14) Pákhṛi̇ **[e]** (in some words) for Waṇáḍhi̇ and Reshi̇ **[ai̅]** is a loan from Kacchi̇ dialect.

P. **Jəḍá**, as much — R.,W. **Jai̅ḍá**
P. **hen**, are — R.,W. **ai̅^n**
P. **heve**, is — R.,W. **ai̅^ve**
P. **per**, foot — R.,W. **pai̅r**.

(15) The following vowel-variations are also interesting—.

W. **huṇ**, now — P.,R. **hʌṇ**
W. **kitthe**, where — P.,R. **kʌtthe**
W. **hənerá**, darkness — P.,R. **hənárá**
W. **kuJh**, some — P.,R. **kiJh**
P.,W. **lʌkṛi̇**, wood — R. **lukṛi̇**.

II. Grammar—

There is not much difference in the grammatical structure of these dialects. The following points, however, are worthy of note—

(1) Pákhṛi̇ and transitional Reshi̇ (i.e., Reshi̇ in the neighbourhood of Pákhṛi̇) use **ko** or **ko˜** postposition in accusative instead of the termination **-á˜** in Waṇáḍhi̇.

(2) The postposition **kol**, with, is added to the pronouns in nominative case in Pákhṛi̇, while in Waṇáḍhi̇ and Reshi̇ it is added to the genitive case. Compare—

P. **mai̅˜ kol**, with me — but W.,R. **mai̅˜ḍhe kol**
tudh kol, with you — W. **tai̅˜ḍhe kol**
us kol, with him — R.,W. **usne kol**

ʌssá˜ kol, with us — R. **ʌḍḍe kol**.

(3) The oblique from **Jo** (who, which) is **Jis** in Waṇáḍhi̇ and Reshi̇, and **Ji̇** in Pákhṛi̇.

(4) The genitive case plural from **mai̅˜** (I) is **ʌḍḍá**, and from **tu˜** (you) **tuḍḍá**, in Reshi̇, instead of **əsiḍḍá** and **tusiḍḍá** respectively in Pákhṛi̇ and **əsáḍá** and **tusáḍá** in Waṇáḍhi̇.

(5) In Pákhṛi̇ and Waṇáḍhi̇ **[e]** is infixed between the root and the present participial termination **[-ná]** in case of transitive verbs, while only **[-ná]** is added to the root in the case of intransitive verbs. In Reshi̇ both transitive and intransitive verbs have simply **[-ṅá]** termination. Examples—

P.,W. **əkhená**, he says — R. **ákhṅá** (tran.)
P.,W. **bhiṛná**, quarrels — R. **bhiṛná** (intr.)
suṇená, hears — **suṇṅá**.

(6) Corresponding to the past participial ending **[-i̇á]** in Pákhi̇ṛ and Waṇáḍhi̇, Reshi̇ has **[-á]** as in Hindi lʌṛá, cʌlá, etc. Compare—

W.,P. **ákhi̇á**, said — R. **ákhá**
lʌṛi̇á, quarrelled — **lʌṛá**
etc.

(7) The conjugation of the auxiliary verb in past tense is very irregular in Pákhṛi̇ showing mixtures of other Lahndi forms. Compare—

	Pákhṛi̇	Waṇáḍhi̇
First Person	**á^, ʌ^ás**	**ai̅^io˜, ai̅^io˜**
Second „	**ai̅^io˜, əm^**	**ai̅i^e˜, ai̅^io**
Third „	**ai̅əai̅, ai̅^**	**ai̅^iá, ai̅^e**

Also past perfect in 3rd person—

piá sá, pai̅e se — **piá ai̅^iá, pai̅e ai̅e^** (was (were) lying)

(8) The gerundial postposition **ki** of Waṇáḍhi̇ is **kʌṇi̇** in Reshi̇ and Pákhṛi̇, as

W. **ghin ki**, taking — P.,R. **ghin kʌṇi̇**
„ **vʌ˜J ki**, going — „ **vʌ˜J kʌṇi̇**
etc.

(9) Respectful forms like **tussi̇ bai̅ṭhe o** (you are sitting) do not exist in Pákhṛi̇. They address in singular **tú˜ ai̅ṭhá˜**, thou art sitting. Plural form always denotes plural number in Pákhṛi̇.

III. Vocabulary—

The following vocables may be compared—

W.,P. **phuáṛá,** R. **mʌṇíá˜,** stock of corn
W.,P. **borá,** R. **səlítá,** sack and net
W. **kíkuṇ,** P. **kí˜,** R. **kive˜,** how
W. **phet,** P. **thet,** R. **ther,** a flat piece of stone
W. **há˜,** P.,R. **há,** yes.
R.,W. **cut,** P. **cuḍ,** female private part
W. **ə˜gúṭhá,** R.,P. **ə˜ḍúkhá,** thumb
R.,W. **nhá˜vuṇ,** R.,P. **dhávuṇ,** to bathe
R.,W. **nəpíṛ,** P. **ḍo,** squeeze
W. **uṭh,** P. **uṭhuṛ,** R. **u˜duṛ,** stand
W. **bāṃ^,** R.,P. **ʌJh,** sit
W. **tás,** R. **bádíá,** a cup
W.,P. **cəṭúrí** R. **máṭí,** an earthern pot
W. **sá^ṇkí,** R. **pheli,** an earthern plate
W. **leph,** R.,P. **síruk,** quilt
W.,R. **ukká,** P. **kətʌí,** at all
W. **ʌdhserí,** P. **pāī˜ṇí,** a measure
W.,P. **kʌṭví,** R. **kunní˜,** an earthern kettle
W.,R. **hudde,** P. **hudre,** thither.

miṭhái, is sweatmeat in Waṇáḍhí and Reshí, while it means pudding in Pákhṛí.

Pákhṛí is comparatively poor in vocabulary. It is known to us as a vulgar language.

IV. Phonological Variations—

From the observations above it appears that Reshí and Pákhṛí have preserved old forms in a number of words, as for example—

(a) R.,P. **kʌttho˜** is a remarkable preservation of Pkt.

(b) P. **to˜ḍhá,** R. **tuḍá,** yours, preserve an ancient feature which is nearer to PI. tava.

(c) R.,P. **kiJh,** some, is nearer to Asokan kich(u), PI kíṁ˜cít- than W. **kujh.**

(d) Reshí **hikkío˜ ʌkhío˜,** from one eye, is an instance of the old tendency to fully decline an adjective in oblique.

The following facts suggest that Reshí, as well as Pákhṛí to some extent, is a later dialect than Waṇáḍhí.

(i) Reshí avoids diphthongs by simplification as well as liaison

[-h-], [-j-] or **[-v-].**

(ii) Reshí has developed the tendency to drive out inherited **[h]** by further weakening the tone and by deaspirating consonants.

(iii) It further contracts or developes syncopated sounds, as in—

R.	W.
ʌḍḍá, our	**əsiḍḍá**
kí˜, how	**ki˜Je**
Jheṛá, quarrel	**JhʌgṛÁ**
tuá˜, to you	**tudhá˜**
oen, are	**hoen**
Jittí, as many	**Jitṇí**
ákhá, said	**ákhiá**
sāi, hundred	**sau.**

Awankari Vocabulary

The vocabulary of Awankari, as of any other NIA language, may be traced to six main sources.*

(1) Words of non-Aryan Indian languages.

(2) Words of original Skt. or P.I-A. origin coming through a slow process of linguistic evolution through MIA stage.

(3) Skt. words now revived in original, i.e., tatsama or in modified form (semi-tatsama).

(4) Words common to many NIA languages but not traceable to their earlier source, the Deshi words.

(5) Words borrowed at one time or another from other NIA dialects.

(6) Foreign words, including loanwords from Persian (including Turkish and Arabic) and English (including other European languages).

To the above may be added—

(7) Deshis of the dialect itself.

1. **NON-ARYAN SUBSTRATUM.** The Aryans occupied the Indo-Gangetic plain from the aborigines of whom the Dravidians were most important. It is presumed that the pre-Aryan element should

*Turner : Nepali Dictionary, Introduction, p. xiv.

be appreciably strong in our dialects. But the fact that the Dravidians were turned out completely from this land can account for the paucity of pre-Aryan vocabularies in our languages. Believing that words containing cerebral consonants were greatly influenced by Dravidian sounds, I sent long lists of such words to Mr. C. R. Sankran of the Deccan College & Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona, but was disappointed to know that none of those obscure words could be traced to Dravidian.

Dr. Kakati, in his 'Formation and Development of Assamese', has given a useful chapter on the Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic element in Assamese. pp. 32ff. The following Awankari words may be compared to parallels in Khasi, Munḍa, Mundari, Santhali Mon-Khmer, Malayan and other non-Aryan languages.

Aw. **sem,** a kind of pulse, < symbai (Khasi), a pod
ḍú^gá, deep, < dong, a tube (Khasi)
cuttuṛ, buttocks, < syntai, hump (Khasi), cu~ṭ (Ass.)
láṭú, a spinning top, < láṭum, to fold (Mḍ.), láṭom (Khasi)
mʌ^ṛ, cover, < meṛháo (Mḍ.), √meṛhá, twist (Ass.)
soṭá, stick, < soṭá (Mḍ.), a stick, so~ṭá (Ass.)
bhoḍá, narrow forehead, < bhondo (Santh.), bhondú (H.)
ḍhibbá or **tibbá,** mound, < dhipi (Mḍ.)
bái, a female name, < bhái, ibhái (Mon.), sister.
Jʌlum, leech, < jelo (Malayan), leech.
págəl, mad, < gila (Malayan), mad.
ṭillá, mound, < til (Malayan), a mountain.

It may be mentioned here that Kakati is wrong to suppose that Ass. hunkari, Aw. **hoká,** shout; Assam. or Aw. **gu~gá**; and Assam. kala, Aw. **kʌllá,** have anything to do with non-Aryan languages. They are sound symbols and can be universally found. For further lists in Awankari vide Chapter on Onomatopoeas.

Similarly **máí,** is a nursery word. Aw. **kímxáb,** Ass. kingkháp (brocade) and Awan. and Ass. **kʌd.ú,** (gourd) have been traced to Persian. Kakati derives them from Khasi and Munḍa.

In "Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India" Dr. Bagchi has collected useful vocabularies derived from non-Aryan languages. The following Awankari words may be compared :—

dʌmṛí, a coin exchangeable with 20 cowries **(kaudi),** < kuḍi, twenty (Santh.)
gʌ~ḍá, 4 cowries, < ganḍá, a collection of four (Santh.)

goṭí, a piece in chess, < guṭi, piece (Santh.)
nərel, cocoanut, < Skt. nárikela, < niyor (Malayan) and kolai (Tarang)
thun, mouth, < Skt. tuṇḍa, tnuḍ (Malayan), thno (Khmer), snout
bʌ^í, stale, < basi (Mal.), bási (H).

There is a large number of words which were modified in Sanskrit and, therefore, for our purposes, they are Indo-Aryan.

2. **INDO-ARYAN ELEMENT.** The Indo-Aryan element is most predominant in Awankari. A Hindu employs in his speech about
60 per cent Indo-Aryan tbh. vocables
1 per cent tsm or stsm words
15 per cent Deshi words
20 per cent foreign loans
4 per cent words of obscure origin.

The above figures were prepared on the averages of four texts—two from Hindus and two from Muslims.

The importance of the Sanskritic element in any Indo-Aryan dialect is a question of wider study has been thoroughly discussed by scholars. The very fact that out of about 750 verbs (collected by the writer himself), hardly fifty could not be traced to I-A shows the predominance of the native element in the Awankari dialect.

The major part of the present work concerns itself with vocables derived from Sanskrit.

3. **THE FOREIGN INFLU. NCE.** The vocabulary from foreign sources—mostly Arabo-Persian and English has been treated in the last two chapters. The Awankari tract was, perhaps, the first to accept the Muslim culture and the last to come across European culture. Naturally, therefore, Arabo-Persian influence is uppermost.

General

The speech of women in Awankari tract does not differ much from that of men in essentials. Their vocabulary of abuse is more copious. Vocabulary of one class slightly differs from that of another. Shopkeepers possess a number of words not commonly

understood by non-shopkeepers. The difference in the vocabulary of Hindus and Muslims is particularly remarkable. The following words used by Hindus are neither employed nor well understood by Muslims—

vʌrət, fast	**khetrí,** a specimen crop
cikhá, cremation ground	**bhugut,** dead
váshná, fame, smell	**kʌ̃Jká̃,** virgins
sirádh, a ceremony for the dead	**lává̃,** marriage ceremony
bheṭá̃, songs of invocation to goddess	**əmʌsiá̃,** new moon day
puruṇmáshí, full moon day	**ʌshṭmí,** 8th day
táiá, father's elder brother	**bhábhí,** brother's wife

etc., etc.

Most of these words are connected exclusively with Hindu rites and religion. Similarly many words of Muslim religion exist among Muslims only. It is very interesting to find that Hindus are familiar with Muslim words, but not so the Muslims with Hindu words.

There are doublets of words, the Hindus having derived theirs from Sanskrit and Muslims from Persian. For instance—

Hindus	Muslims
kəṛáˆí,	**halvá,** pudding
viJáˆ,	**nikáˆ,** marriage
pʌch.á̃,	**nimáshá̃,** evening
vʌḍe-ele,	**fʌzrí,** morning
pĩḍá,	**Jússá,** body
pʌg,	**sáfá,** turban
shukər,	**zummá̃,** Friday
vírvár,	**zumerát,** Thursday

etc., etc.

Some doublets are I-A in origin, but one form exists among Hindus and the other among Muslims, as

Hindus **Jháṛá,**	Muslims **vʌṭváṇí,** easing oneself
kunní̃,	**kʌṭví,** earthen kettle
kitthe,	**kʌtthe,** where ?
nhãṇ,	**ḍhávuṇ,** to bathe
gãṇ,	**gávuṇ,** to sing
ʌkhe,	**Jʌṇe,** that

kʌssí,	**lʌghí,** easing oneself
kidde,	**kʌddé,** whither.

etc., etc.

lálá means a brother among Muslims and a father among Hindus. **bebe** means a sister among Muslims and a mother among Hindus.

In Pákhaṛ Hindus say **máˆ̃** (to me) and Muslims **maĩ̃ko** (to me). Hindus say—

kʌr ki, doing, and Muslims **kʌr kʌṇí.**

The vocabulary of the literate people is richer than that of the illiterate. The literate generally employ more Hindustani words and even loanwords from neighbouring dialects.

Men of one profession are generally ignorant of the terms of another profession. While I was collecting such terms on the model of Grierson's "Bihar Peasant Life", I was astonished to learn that about 80 percent of the terms in various professions had never been heard by me before.

Agricultural terms in Awankari are very numerous. There is no sea, no river, no canal in the tract, and many of the words connected with these and used in the neighbouring tracts are unknown to the Awankars.

Awankari is not very rich in expression. One word is used to express a variety of ideas according to the context, e.g., the verb **vʌgná,** in

hʌl vʌgná, the plough ploughs, **vá vʌgní e,** the wind blows
váJá vʌgná, the instrument plays, **vʌg vʌ̃J,** run up
khúˆ vʌgná, the well drives, **dáṇe vʌgnen,** grains leak
vʌṭṭá vəgá, throw the stone, and so on.

Awankari has about 1600 verbal bases. The number of adjectives is also inadequate. Of about 600 adjectives, I collected from an English Dictionary, equivalents for just 200 adjectives could be found in Awankari. There were about one hundred adjectives of the dialect which could not be exactly translated into English.

I–IX

PHONOLOGY OF SANSKRITIC ELEMENT

I

PRESERVATIONS

I

PRESERVATIONS

1. Vowels.
   (i) Initial Vowels.
   (ii) Medial Vowels.
   (iii) Final Vowels.
2. Single Consonants.
3. Consonant Groups.
4. Preserved Words.
5. Stress.

I. 1. i. Initial Vowels.

Vowels in normally accented syllables have, as a rule, come down unchanged except [ɣ]. Initially, as—

PI. [a] in Aw. **aJ,** to-day ; **a^nná˜,** blind ; **addhá,** half.
[á] in Aw. **ává,** kiln ; **ápṇá,** self, own ; **á,** come.
[i] in Aw. **iṭ,** brick ; **iṛ,** a kind of grass < itá, cane.
[u] in Aw. **uṭh,** camel ; **udhul,** rape ; **uḍ,** fly.
[e] in Aw. **e^,** this < eṣaḥ, Ap. ehu.

Examples of PI. [í-], [ú-], [e-], and [o-] are not available in Awankari.

I. 1. ii. Medial Vowels.

The examples of *medial vowels* are quite large. The following may be considered, and it may be noted that Awankari is more tenacious than Punjabi—

PI. [-a-] in Aw. **gaṇ,** count, but P. **giṇ**
maruc, pepper, but P. **mirc**
hʌ̃Jú, tears but P. **ĩ̃Jh.**
[-á-] in Aw. **kháJ,** eatable **mághá,** dear
uṣár, raise **dhávuṇ,** to bathe.
[-i-] in Aw. **sikh,** learn **miṭṭhá,** sweet
nikhid, good for nothing, < nikṣipta.
[-í-] in Aw. **síṛ,** sew **uḍík,** wait, < udvíkṣate
líkh, louse, < líkṣá.
[-u-] in Aw. **sukká,** dry **russá,** engraged, < ruṣyate
kuˆnní˜, vessel for heating milk, < kuṇḍam.
ʌ̃gul, finger, but P. **u˜gəl.**
[-ú-] in Aw. **dhútá,** stupid, < dhúrtakaḥ
mútur, urine, < mútra
súvuṇ, to give birth, < súte.
[-e-] in Aw. **devuṇ,** to give **beṛí,** boat, < vetá, (lexicon)
səneˆśá, message, < sandeshaḥ.
[-o-] in Aw. **cokhá,** much, < cokṣaḥ; Aw. **pot,** width of cloth, < potta, cloth, Sk. lex. potaḥ; and Aw. **khoˆvuṇ,** to snatch, < skoṣati.

Awankari stands with Punjabi and other Lahndi dialects for its preservation of vowels before consonant-groups. (Cf. Jain, § 17-25). Further examples—

PI. [a]—**ʌthrú,** tear, < ashruḥ
dʌssuṇ, to tell, to show, < darshana
gʌḍh, knot, < granthiḥ.
[á]—**ákhuṇ,** to say, < ákhyánam; **dátrí,** sickle, < dátram,
ḍáˆḍhá, strong, < dráḍhyam.
[i]—**limmuṇ,** to plaster, < limpati
nixtá, went out, < niṣkṛtaḥ; **pippul,** pepper.
[í]—Examples are rare indeed, **uḍík,** wait; **líkh,** louse; as above.
[u]—**uˆgruṇ,** to wield, < udgurati
buJh, understand, < budhyate

mukki, kneading, < mukti.
[ú]—**sútur,** yarn, < sútra-; **dhútá,** stupid, < dhúrtakaḥ.
[e]—**bheḍ,** sheep; **Jeṭh,** husband's elder brother, < jyeṣṭha-.
[o]—**Jogá,** for, < yogyam; **cokhá,** much, < cokṣaḥ.
Exceptions have been discussed under "Modifications".

I. 1. iii. Final Vowels.

There is no doubt that final vowels have all disappeared in NIA. But final [-ú] in a number of Awankari words suggests that it must have survived through the analogy of Apabhramsa forms. It is not proper to dogmatically derive [-ú] from [-ukaḥ]. Future research must one day qualify these linguistic dogmas. Compare—

Aw. **haṇú˜,** teeth
ʌthrú, and **hʌ̃Jú,** tears
máḳhú, honey
sáú, gentleman
ḍmˆrú, tabor.

The locative termination [-e] has been preserved sporadically. Cf
ghare, in the house
girá˜e, in the village
ʌkvále, to Akwal (place).

It is just possible that Aw. **ʌgge,** before, **picche,** after, **neṛe,** near, and such other forms are preservations of the locative sense and not derived from hypothetic ágrake, etc.

Preservations of final vowels are not quite regular. The few relics may be properly called "sporadic preservations."

It may be noted here that short vowels had a better fate than the long ones. Even in an unaccented syllable, short vowels retained their quality*.

Compare—
Aw. **visáˆ,** trust, < vishvása
but **diváli,** (dípávalí).
Aw. **kiráṛ,** Hindu, (kiráta-)
but **siálá,** winter (shíta-kálaḥ).
Aw. **əˆ˜drʌkkhá,** or **ʌˆ˜drʌkkhá,** cloak

*This shows the existence of secondary stress which, however, could not save long vowels from change.

I

but **Jəvái**, son-in-law, (jámātṛ)

Aw. **usár**, raise.

but **u^nní^**, nineteen. etc.,

Also see the Chapter on Modifications.

Awankari has stubbornly preserved PI. vowel-gradation.

Aw. **phir**, be moved	**pher**, move (v).
mil, meet (v)	**melá**, fair (n).
pʌṭ, uproot	**páṛ**, break (v).
pʌl, be nourished	**pál**, bring up.
dudh, milk	**dodhí**, milkman.
ghuṭ, press (v)	**ghoṭ**, rub.
núṭ, close	**nuṭená**, closes.
boṛ, dip	**buṛená**, dips.
truṭ, be broken	**troṛ**, break.
mʌJh, buffalo	**máJhá**, of a buffalo (adj.).
lʌgh, pass	**lágháa**, passage.

also

khá, eat	**khāiná**, eats.
ro, weep	**ruvāiná**, makes weep.
hʌṭ, go, **həṭá**, keep away	**həṭāiná**, keeps it away

etc.

I. 2. Single Consonants

Initial consonants, excepting PI [y], [sh] and [s] have remained intact in Awankari. The observations made by Dr. B. D. Jain (§ 137, 139, 141, 143, 144 and 146) hold practically good. Preservation of gutturals and [c-], [t-], [p-] is not regular and common. PI. voiced aspirates have lost their voice and aspiration and lowered the pitch of the next vowel in Punjabi. But Awankari has preserved such aspirates. Compare—

[gh]—**ghʌ^ḍí**, uvula, **ghá**, grass, (ghásaḥ) (ghaṇṭiká)

ghio, butter, (ghṛta-) **holuṇ**, dissolve, (gholayati)

[jh]—**Jháṛí**, hedge, (jháṭá) **Jhʌm**, shower, (jhampaḥ)

Jháṭá, hair, (,,) **Jhúṭá**, swing, (jhuṇṭa-)

[ḍh]—**ḍhovuṇ**, carry, (ḍhaukate) is a rare sound in PI.

[dh]—**dhʌṇ** (dháminí), neck, **dhúṛ**, dust, (dhúliḥ),

dhu^d, (sk. dhúma-?) Pk. dhuddha, mist.

[bh]—**bhʌ^ḍí**, noise, < bhaṇḍate, reviles; **bhʌm**, earthquake, (bhúkampa-), **bhár**, load, (bhára-); **bhuggá** (bhugna-), rotten.

The following words preserving PI [jh-] may be added to Jain's single example of P., Aw., **Jhʌṭ -**, at once—

Aw. **Jháṭá**, hair	**Jhá^ṭ**, pubic hair also **Jhu^^**
Jháṛí, hedge	**Jhá^Jrá^**, cymbals
Jhúṭá, swing	**Jhʌm**, shower.

Aw. words beginning with cerebrals are quite numerous, but as in Punjabi and other IA vernaculars, only a few can be traced back to Sanskrit. They developed profusely in Prakrit and grew even later. Compare—

Aw. **ṭāir**, pony, (Pk. ṭara)	**ṭiṭá^ṇá**, (Pk. ṭiṭṭiyara), cicada
ṭopá, a measure (Pk. ṭopia)	**ṭhullá**, Pk. ṭhulla, fat, < sthúla-
ḍʌs, to sting, (Pk. ḍasaí)	**ḍolí**, Pk. ḍolá, litter, < dolá
ḍhillá, Pk. ḍhilla-, loose.	

PI. [n-] and [m-] behave exactly as they do in Punjabi. [v-] remains in tact. The change of [v-] to [b-] does exist in quite a big number of Awankari words, which appear to be loans. It is just possible that the dialect treated [v-] in two ways in order to differentiate words. Preservations—

viJá^ (viváha-), marriage	**vəlṭo^á**, cauldron, (vartula-loha-)
viṭh (viṣṭá), dung of birds	**ví^** (vimshati-) twenty
vāi^^gí (vahiṅgiká) carrying pole;	**vʌṭṭá** (vartiḥ), stone
vʌggun (valgati), flows, blows	

etc.

The ratio of [v-] and [b-] words from PI [v-] is 4 : 1. The real tendency of the dialect is to preserve [v-].

PI [y-] appears in just a couple of words.

Aw. **jʌ^vuṇ**, to copulate, (yabhati)

jʌ^ddhá, copulated, (yabdha-).

[r-] and [l-] are confused in a few cases (see III. 1.).

As a rule, they are preserved. The unvoiced PI [s-] and the voiced [h-] occur regularly in Lahndi as in Western Punjabi.

Of the intervocalic single consonants, PI. [r-] and [-l-] had the best of luck.

sāu^rá, father-in-law, (shvashura-)	**urlá**, nearer, (avarala-)

visur, forget, (vismar-) **bárí,** window, (dváram)
ár, awl, (árá) **ber,** jujube, (badara-)
kúlá, soft, (komala-) **bálun,** to burn, (dválayati)
hunálá, summer, (uṣṇa-kála-) **bukul,** wrap, (valkala)
velá, time etc.

[kh], [gh], [th], [dh], [ph], [bh], [sh], [ṣ], [s], and [h], were almost invariably reduced to a tone. The following preservations are exceptional and sporadic :—

pʌghur, melt, (pragharati, oozes)
mukhaḍ, a mouth cover, (mukha-√aḍḍ-)
cɨ̃ukhur, animal, (catuḥ-kṣura-)
mu˜ḍásá, face cover, (muṇḍa-vásakaḥ)
hʌssuṇ, to laugh, (hasati)
ubásí, yawn, (udvásanam)
bəhʌṭṭá, amulet, (báhusthaḥ)
nás, nostril, (násá).

The following exceptions to the general cases of modification of intervocalic stops may be noted—

hik, one, < ekaḥ
cáská, taste, (caṣakaḥ)
Jhaṭ, at once, (jhaṭiti)
kʌ˜Juk, girl, (kanyaká)
AǰJuṛ, flock, (aja-ḍa)
kítá, done, (kṛtaḥ)
bəroṭá, a young tree, (badara + vaṭu-)
gíṭá, pebble, (guṭiká).

(cases of preservation or restoration of [-ṭ-], are quite numerous).

gocrí, for, (gocara-)
kəcúṇí, hair near ears, (kaca+suffix)
ḍəgʌ̃utrá, a mendicant, (ḍaka-putraḥ)
oprá, strange, (apar-apar) as in P. **uppar,** above
copuṛ, anoint, (copati, touches)
ság, a vegetable, grass, (śhaka-).

[-k-] is also preserved or restored in many suffixes, such as **ǝJoká,** (to-day's).

[-v-] is not only modified along with the vowels, but it is also preserved in some words and restored by liaison in some others.

Jívuṇ < jivati, to live **nʌvvá˜** < navam, new
khəlváṛá < khala-váṭa-, threshing floor

khəlvʌ˜g < khala-vaṅku-, bellows.

Also note liaison [-v-] in III. 4. iii.

Please refer to the Chapter on liaison (also see III. 4. iii.) and note the remarkable preservative tendency of the dialect. Even if it was restored it means the tendency has been there.

PI [-m-] occurs in Aw. **ǝmʌssiá˜,** which is a loan or stsm. [-n-], is preserved only in a few numerals—

unʌtrí, 29 It may be a loan.
u^nní˜, 19 ditto
unhʌttər, 69 ditto

but **uṇánve˜,** 89, **uṇásí,** 79, **uṇtá^lí,** 39.

[-ṇ-] is always preserved, as in—

kulʌkhṇá (kulakṣaṇa-), unfortunate **kʌṇuk** (kaṇiká), wheat
káṇá (káṇaḥ), one-eyed **gʌṇ** (√gaṇ-), to count
kʌ˜guṇ (kaṅkaṇa), bracelet **sávuṇ** (shrávaṇa), a month.

I. 3. Consonant Groups.

Double consonants have remained unchanged except under conditions of stress (see VIII. 4. i(4)). Dr. Jain has mentioned only stops-plus stops (§ 152). Examples of double nasals are given below—

[nn]—tunnuṇ, to thrust, (cf. P. **tunná**) like Aw. **bhʌnnuṇ,** to break.

ʌnne˜ (obl.) corn, < anna-.

Examples of other double consonants that are preserved in Awankari may also be considered—

[ll]—mʌlluṇ, to occupy, < Sk. mallati, keeps
ullugh (ullanghati), to cross.
culli- (cullíḥ), fire-place
hʌllo, move, √ hall-, to expand.

[ss]—nissur, to be free, < Sk. nissarati
Jhʌssuṇ, to rub hard, < Sk. jhassati.

Unaspirated+aspirated homorganic groups are also preserved in Awankari. Examples—

bʌddhá (baddhaḥ), tied
hʌcchá (svaccha-), clear
pucchuṇ (pṛcchati), to ask.

I

Most of the heterorganic groups in Awankari are inherited from Prakrit. Only a few groups from PI have come down intact. They are—

[-ńg-]—ə̃gár, coal, (aṅgára-)
bhaĩ̃gá, squint-eyed, (? + apáṅgaḥ)
ʌ̃gul, finger (aṅguli-).

[-ɲ̃J-]—mu̇̃J, a grass, (mun̆já)
pi̇̃Juṇ, to card, (pin̆jayati).

[-ɳḍ-]—bhʌ̃ḍuṇ (bhaṇḍate), to revile
rʌ̃ḍí, widow, (raṇḍá, woman).
ṭu̇̃ḍá, decrepit, (tuṇḍa-).

Note also [-nd-] preserved in bu̇̃dá, ear-drop, (binduḥ).

The group [r+consonant] has, as a rule, assimilated [r], but the following relics have been preserved :—

vʌrtávuṇ, to distribute, (vartate)
sʌrvʌt, all, (sarvaśva and sarvatra).

The group [consonant+r] was expected to have been preserved, but it is not always so. [-tr-] is invariably unchanged. But other groups have behaved in two ways. The number of preservations is almost equal to that of modifications and the exact tendency of the dialect is yet uncertain. A study of all the neighbouring dialects and detailed statistics might clear the point. See also III. 2. vii(b). Note also the development of Svarabhakti in the preserved groups.

[kr]—cʌkrí, disc, (cakra-).

[gr]—girá̃ (gráma-), village ; girẫ, morsel, (grása-) ;
< -dgr- in ugrâvuṇ (udgrahaṇa-), to collect.

[dr]—ni̇̃dur, sleep, (nidrá) ; dhʌ̂ddur, eczema, (dadruḥ).

[dhr]—vʌdhrí (vardhra-), strap.

[br]—ubbur, speak, (ud-brú-)

[bhr]—bhirá, brother (bhrátṛ) ; ʌbhruk, mica, (abhraka-) ;
bhʌrJái, brother's wife, (bhrátuḥ-bhāryá).

[pr]—pʌrseo, perspiration, (prasveda-)
pʌrnálá, drain, (praṇála-).

[tr]—All examples of preservation of the group in WP. are found also in Awankari. Also note—

kʌlvʌtrí, saw, (karapatra-) aũtrá, sonless, (aputrakaḥ)
Jotur, thong, (yoktram) khetrí (kṣetram), crop
netrá, churning thong, (netram) etc.

Note.—No example of preservation of [jr], [ghr], [dhr], and of [non-plosive+r] has been found in Awankari. I doubt if the remark of Dr. Jain at page 80 that "in WP., Lahndi and Sindhi, the groups consonant+r, especially dental stops+r, have remained unchanged" is true.

4. Preserved Words.

As the result of preservation of PI sounds in Awankari, a large number of words, some of which are unrecognizable in many a NIA language, exist intact in this dialect. We speak them almost exactly as the Aryans of old did. The usage of some words, however, has slightly changed.

Examples—

Aw. veg, lust
bh̃ḍár, collection of women for spinning
phul, flower
phʌl, fruit
phál, blade
bhá̃ḍá, utensil
bhár, burden
puráṇá, old
velá, time
káṇá, one-eyed
khur, hoof
khʌl, hide, skin
lo^á, iron
pʌre, away
ʌ̃gul, finger
ʌ̃g, mark, limb

hár, garland
putrá̃, to sons
mútre-c, in urine
sútrá, threaded amulet
gol, round
nissur, complete
bʌddhá, tied
ku̇̃ḍul, coil
sʌJJá, fresh
udhár, debt
bhʌr, fill
mʌ̃J, neck
cetur, a month
citrá, tiger

etc., etc.

Note—Please also refer to tatsama and semitatsama words in Awankari listed in the Chapter on loans.

The preservation of Skt. asmat,* tusmat in əsmʌttur, like ourselves, (cf. həmátuṛ, like ourselves) and tusmʌttur, like yourself, is interesting.

I. 5. Stress.

Awankari has normally preserved Sanskrit stress-accent. For exceptions please refer to Dr. Jain's "Phonology of Punjabi", (pp. 93ff.) and the Chapter on "accent" in this treatise (VIII. 4.).

II

EXTINCTIONS

II

EXTINCTIONS

1. Initial.
2. (i) Medial.
   (ii) Syncopation.
   (iii) Haplology.
3. Final.
4. General Losses.

II. 1. Initial.

Initially, sounds are generally clear. Preservation of vowels as well as consonants is a characteristic tendency of the NIA languages. But they suffer terribly under conditions of stress. Aphaeresis of initial vowels in pre-accented position may be noted—

Aw. **dhelá,** half pice, < Sk. ardha-illa
reṭhá, soap-nut, < ariṣṭakaḥ
ḍhái, 2 1/2, < ardha-tṛtíya-
há^ṛ, a month, < áṣáḍha-
ríṣ, envy, < íṛṣyá, Pk. irissa-
kháṛá, arena, < akṣaváṭakaḥ.

Sometimes the whole syllable drops, although initial consonants

are believed to be more obstinate than vowels. Compare—

ḍhillá, loose, < shithila-

lávuṇ, curry, < salavaṇa-

The following PI initial sounds have lost themselves in Awankari by modifications—

[sh-], [y-], [n-], [ṛ-], [ṣ]

We have inherited no PI word beginning with [i], [u], [e], [ai] or [au].

All initial consonant groups have been modified to single consonants. Extinction of a large number of consonants as parts of groups in the beginning of words has been inherited from Prakrits.

II. 2. i. Medial.

Medial consonants have, of course, suffered more than vowels. Vowels have, again, disappeared mainly under conditions of stress.

Aw. **ləmútrá,** longish, < lamba-uttara or lambatara

kaṛchí, ladle, < Pk. kaḍacchu-

athrá, restless, < asthira-

parnívuṇ, to marry, < pariṇayati

do^trá, daughter's son, < dauhitra-

dərokhá, lamp-stand, < díparakṣakaḥ

liph, spleen, < Sk. plíhá, Pk. pilihá

parkhuṇ, to test, < parikṣaṇam.

Consonants in the interior of words have disappeared in many ways.

(a) [k], [g], [c], [j], [t] and [d] disappeared in MI, leaving a [y] glide which was not inherited by Awankari. Total extinction of these stops is the rule in this dialect.

The following forms show that the glide was never felt by the Apabhramsha through which Awankari has grown—

cauk, square, < catuṣka-

vanní~, bride, < vanitá

pílá, yellow, < pítalaḥ

luhár, blacksmith, < loha-kára-

pəvá~d, wrongside of bed-stead, < pádánta-

kiárá, field-bed, < kedárakaḥ

chálí, goat, < chágalikā

dúṇá, two-fold, < dvi-guṇaḥ

súí, needle, < súciká.

(b) Intervocalic stops which survived or left a glide after the Prakrit stage have dropped since then.

tá~, then, < Pk. taá, Sk. tadá

vá, wind, < Pk. váta, váu

tá, heat, < Pk. táva-

má, mother, < Pk. máda-, máṅ

təlá, tank, < Pk. talága, taláva.

(c) PI. [-apa-] became [-ava-] in MI. It is being restored by liaison, but there is a large number of words in which it is lost.

aútrá, childless, < aputrakaḥ

cáṛá, wide, < capaṭaḥ

ədhúrá, half-done, < ardha-púrakaḥ

le, plaster, < lepa-

dhúṇí~, smouldering fire, < dhúpanam.

(d) Of the aspirates [ch] and [jh] never existed as intervocalic singles even in PI. Cerebrals have preserved at least their consonantal quality. But others have disappeared as consonants, leaving tone-effects on the preceding vowels.

sáú, gentleman, < sádhu

səgo^, lizard, < sarpa godhá

ḍá^vuṇ, to place, < drághate

ni^o~, nail, < nakham

se^rá, fillet, < shekhara-

sa^~, oath, < shapatha-

etc.

(e) [-sh-], [-s-], [-ṣ-], have also died out as consonants leaving tone-effects as their memorials raised on the preceding vowels. Sometimes the tone is also lost.

aúkhá, difficult, < Sk. asukhaḥ

əṭháṭh, 68, < aṣṭa-ṣaṣṭiḥ

dá^, ten, < dashan

ghá^, grass, < ghásа-

etc.

(f) [-h-] has disappeared as an independent consonant.

mághá, dear, < Sk. mahárghia-

mai^rá, cook, < mahárája

ghiṇ, take, < grahaṇa.

More examples are given in IV. 6.

(g) PI. [-n-] disappears in some inflexional forms. See Dr. Jain § 140, (2).

Examples—

-ánám, in **ghoṛiá˜**, to horses
ghoṛiá˜, to mares

although it is preserved in **ghoṛe-ná˜**, of the horse.

-ni, -áni, in **ʌkkhiá˜**, eyes; **gʌllá˜**, talks.

-íni, in **dʌ^í˜**, curd, < dadhíni

etc.

[-m-] always loses its consonantal quality by modification.

Sometimes its nasality is also lost, but its 'labiality' does survive, generally. Examples—

kuárá, bachelor, < Sk. kumárakaḥ
gəútur, cow's urine, < Sk. gomútra-
kúlá, soft, < Sk. komalakaḥ
saĩṇ, mistress, < swáminí
dhuṇ, neck, < Sk. dháminí.

(h) Except in cases mentioned in I. 2.(7), and. III. 1., [-y-], and [-v-] have disappeard. The restoration through liaison has not yet extended to all forms. Examples of extinctions are—

der, husband's younger brother, < Sk. devara-
viJá^, marriage, < Sk. viváha-
khəláṛá, arena, < Sk. khala-váṭakaḥ
əmʌssiá˜, new moon day, < amávasyá
aĩṭhá, sat, < Sk. áviṣṭha-
deí, name, < Sk. devi
and
á, come, < á-yá, or ává, Pk. ávei
mor, peacock, < mayúra-.

[-y-], as Turner (§ 26) says, was the first of the intervocalic consonants to disappear, though it is perhaps the first to be restored in Awankari.

Very few consonant groups from Sanskrit have survived in Awankari. Many consonants were lost by assimilation. Some were devoured, drowned or killed. The following losses may be briefly enumerated—

(a) In a group [stop+stop], the first one loses its personality (see III. 2. i.).

(b) The stop loses its organic position in the following groups—

[m+p], [m+b], [n+d], as a rule, and [m+bh] and [n+d], in a large number of words (see III. 2. iii.).

(c) A nasal loses its entity in the groups [+-n], [n+dh], [n+th], [m+ph], [ń+kh], [ń+gh], [n˜+ch], [ṇth] and [mbh] with a few exceptions (see III. 2. iii.).

Also in [gn], [kn], [tn], [dm], [nṣ], [mṣ], [mṣ], and in a few cases of the group [ńk] (see III. 2. iii.).

(d) [-y-] was always a second member of the group and it was lost (see III. 2. vi.).

(e) [-v-] was also a second member. It made self-sacrifice except in the prefixed group in Sk. udvartanam, > Aw. **vʌṭṇá** (see III. 2. ix.).

(f) [-r-] as a first member is almost always sacrificed (see III. 2. vii.).

(g) [-r-] as a second member disappears except in the groups enumerated in I. 3. Also see III. 2. vii(b). for examples.

(h) [-l-] in a consonant group [-lg-] or [-lp-] is always lost.

(i) Sibilants drop in

[kṣ], [ts] [ps] and sibilant+stop.

It means that in their struggle for existence semi-vowels surrendered in all fields. Sibilants were also beaten. [l]s made self-sacrifices at a couple of places. Casualities among [r]s were enormous; many were killed, several injured and only a few survived along with their allies. Nasals disappeared from many of their possessions. Stops proved to be the fittest, although some were killed in a civil war and some annihilated by nasals.

II. 2. ii. Syncopation.

Sometimes under conditions of stress the whole syllable in a word disappears.

muháṭh, threshold, < Sk. mukha-káṣṭha-
səgo^, lizard, < Sk. sarpa-godhá
nigh, heat, < Sk. nidágha-
gəútur, cow's urine, < Sk. go-mútra-
súr, swine, < Sk. shúkara-
siálá, winter, < Sk. shíta-kálakaḥ

bhʌm, earthquake, < Sk. bhúkampa-
vith, space, < Sk. vitastiḥ
kənhárá, shoulder, < Sk. skandha-taṭakaḥ
ársi, mirror, < Sk. ádarshiká.

This tendency is still growing. Note syncopation of Awankari syllables in the following words.

səkuttur, step-son, < **sɑ̃ˇkuṇ-puttur**
mʌkkhá˜, I say, < **mɑ̃ˇ-ákhá˜**
ghuṇáˆdá, pyorrhea, < **ghuṇ-kháˆdhá**
kiccur, how long, < **kitṇá-cir**
pəleṭhá, first born, < **pɑ̃ˇlá-Jeṭhá.**

Rhythmic equivalence is maintained by syncopation of more than one syllable:—

pitrɑ̃ˇrá, wife's paternal uncle, < Sk. pitrávya-shvashuraḥ
məlhɑ̃ˇrá, wife's maternal uncle, < Sk. mátula-shvashuraḥ
sáḍhú, wife's sister's husband, < Sk. shyálí-voḍhukaḥ
chíṭ, calico cloth, < Sk. kṣipta-citra
ʌtro˜, day after tomorrow, < Sk. adya-tṛtíyaḥ
diráṇí, husband's younger brother's wife, < Sk. devara-rajní
vəṇJárá, merchant, < Sk. váṇijya-kárakaḥ.

II. 2. iii. Haplology.

Extinction by haplology is also quite common.

Examples—

Aw. **bhukh,** hunger, < Sk. bubhukṣá
ḍíuṭ wick, < Sk. dípa-vartiḥ
dhivár, day, < Sk. divasa-vára-
kuṛmeṭá, child's father-in-law's son, < **kuṛum-beṭá**
luhá˜ḍá, iron vessel, < loha-bháṇḍaḥ
du˜dá, having two teeth, < Sk. dvi-dantakaḥ
cutáˆlí, 44, < catur-catvárimshat
másí, mother's sister, < Sk. maṭṛ-svasá.

Further extinctions may be studied in the chapter on 'Contamination', where medial sounds in groups have disappeared by blending of different forms of words.

II. 3. Final.

Subject to the proviso already noted at p. 11, all vowels and consonants in final position have disappeared in Awankari as in other NIA languages.

[a] in **uṭh,** camel, (uṣṭra-) **kʌch,** armpit, (kakṣa-).
[i] in **ní˜dur,** sleep, (nidrá) **kəṇuk,** wheat, (kaṇiká).
[í] in **bhɑ̃iṇ,** sister, (bhaginí)
ʌkh, eye, (akṣiḥ) **ʌgg,** fire (agniḥ)
[u] in **tʌ˜d,** fibre, (tantu-)
sʌs, mother-in-law, (shvashru-).
[ú] in **dhʌdhur,** eczema, (dadru-).

Note—Visarga had already disappeared in Prakrit.

[-am] disappears, except in the adverbial forms—
əkháṇ, saying, < ákhyánam
álus, laziness, < álasyam
but **heo˜,** thus, < evam.

Sometimes whole syllables drop down for want of stress or as the result of the death of the component sounds.

Examples—

Aw. **vá,** air, (vátaḥ) **tá,** heat, (tápaḥ)
Jí, life, (jívaḥ) **jí,** living being, (jívat)
sʌvvá, 1 1/4, (sapádaḥ) **so,** mourning, (shokaḥ)
həríṛ, myrobalan, (haritakí) **ává,** kiln, (ápákaḥ)
ʌssí, 80, (ashítiḥ), **pə˜Jáˆ,** 50, (pan˜cáshat)
gʌbhrú, youth, (garbharú- paḥ) **khúˆ,** well, (kupaḥ)
əṭhtáˆlí, 48, (aṣṭa.catvárimshat) **bhirá,** brother, (bhrátá)
se, to wet, (sveda-).

Extinctions in words which have become enclitics in Awankari are remarkable—

Aw. **utte,** above, < Sk. uttare
dár, towards, cf. H. iddhar
káṇ, for, < Sk. káraṇa
ár, like, < Sk. prakára, ákára
nə˜, of, < Sk. santa-
-c, in, H. bíc
-e˜, as in **məlkáṇie˜** (voc.), H. are
te, and, < Sk. ante

Ji, that, so that, < Sk. yadi, yena

etc.

Morphologists will tell us separately that hundreds of grammatical terminations have been lost in Modern Indo-Aryan languages.

II. 4. General Losses.

Our losses since the PI. stage are not only confined to single sounds or syllables. Many words have also disappeared. A reader of Sanskrit Dictionary rightly feels that he has inherited very little from OIA. Extinction of words is due to two main causes, namely (i) homonymity and (ii) synonymity—vide author's "Hindi Semantics."

Words that were to give the same phonological results were not all retained. To avoid confusion of sounds one was kept while others were given up as useless. (Some, indeed, were extended, by various phonetic tactics, to give different meanings.) For example, in Prakrit. káya, would be from Sk. káyá, or kákaḥ, or káca. Only one word meaning "crow" was accepted. Others died out.

Pk. asa may be from Sk. √as, to be, √ash, to pervade, √ash, to eat, asat, existing, and so on. Semantic confusions were avoided in all modern Indo-Aryan languages.

Words reduced to single sounds became so indistinct and inefficient that they were given up, as the following—

Sk. akati, moves	Sk. acati, speaks
atati, goes constantly	okhati, wanders
ubhati, covers	ɽphati, kills.

Hundreds of such words were reduced to nothing but vowels and were destroyed as useless instruments of language.

Out of many words giving the same meaning, only one was usually selected, others being dropped as superfluous. If another word of the synonymous group was taken, it underwent a strong semantic change. A study of the Amar Koṣa in the light of Awankari vocabulary confirms our point. For example, out of a number of words for 'sacrifice' only yajn˜a > Aw. **Jag**, has been taken. Similarly from the group of words for 'moss',

shaiválа > Aw. **sevál**, has been adopted; and from the group of a large number of words for 'earth',

bhúmiḥ, earth > Aw. **bhuí**, is kept.

Thousands of words thus disappeared in Modern Indian languages.

Generally, many words became extinct by disuse. Many arts and sciences died out and technical terms connected with them were lost. Several ceremonies disappeared. Philosophy and philosophical terms declined. With the rise of new life, new wants, new circumstances of life, new words appeared in the place of old and defunct forms. Many words did not enter the tract.

It is the totality of all these losses that has today made Sanskrit, or even a Prakrit, such a difficult language to our students in schools and colleges.

III

MODIFICATIONS:

III

MODIFICATIONS*

1. Single Consonants.
2. Consonant Groups.
   - (i) Stop+stop.
   - (ii) Stop+nasal.
   - (iii) Nasal+stop.
   - (iv) Nasal+nasal.
   - (v) Nasal+sibilant.
   - (vi) Groups with [y].
   - (vii) Groups with [r].
     - (a) r+Consonant.
     - (b) Consonant+r.
   - (viii) Groups with [l].
   - (ix) Groups. with [v].
   - (x) Groups with a sibilant.
3. Vowels.
   - (a) Umlaut.
   - (b) Guna-vrddhi Forms.
   - (i) Mixtures.
   - (ii) Influence of [-h-]

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*The Chapter is more or less a supplement to Jain's work. His observations have not been repeated.

(iii) Treatment of [ṛ].
(iv) Treatment of [ai].
(v) Treatment of [au].
(vi) Svarabhakti.
(vii) Guna-Vrddhi.
4. Vowels in Contact.
(i) General and Diphthongal Treatment.
(ii) Monophthongal Treatment.
(iii) Liaison.

III. 1. Single Consonants.

Initial stops were generally preserved while many of the intervocalic and all the final stops were dropped. Modifications of the consonants in the following are unusual and exceptional.
Examples—

ṭikká, mark, < tilaka-
ḍívuṭ, wick, (dípa- vartiḥ); **ḍá^ḍhá**, strong, (dárḍhya-)
ḍanná, stick, (daṇḍa-) (Also refer to the chapter on Cerebralization).
dhirkhán, carpenter, (takṣan-)
dhunní, navel, (tunḍa-)
dhágá, thread, (Pk. tagga-)
tetrá, spotted, < citrakaḥ
vattur sákh, vegetable, < patra-shákhá, or -sháka.

For more examples, see Chapters on Aspiration, Deaspiration, Vocalization and Metathesis.

Regarding interchange of initial palatals, dentals and cerebrals in initial position compare with Chatterjee p. 482-3, the above examples and **ṭuṇḍá** < tuṇḍa-, **cəul** < taṇḍula-.

Besides Aw. **hovuṇ**, to be, < bhavati, PI initial [bh-] > [h-] is available in **haghí**, sieve, divider, < bhagniká. Also compare the Awankari doublets **bhalká**, and **halká**, meaning "mad".

Aspirates have generally proved firm and steadfast.

Irregular modifications of [n-] > [l-] in
lilárí, dyer, < níla-kárin-
lúṇí, butter, < navaníta-
ləkhnəú, Lucknow, H. lakhnau

and [m-] to [n-] in **núṭ**, close, H. míṭ- may be noted.

[r-] and [l-] were sometimes confused.
ɪ olun, to sift, < √lul, √lol
luggá, deserted, < rugṇaḥ
rəl, be mixed, < √lal.

[sh-] and [ṣ-] generally changed to [s] as in Punjabi.
Examples—
súr, swine, < shúkara-
səḍḍhá, male buffalo, < ṣanḍaḥ
sí, cold, < shíta
so^ṇá, beautiful, < shobhana-.

The following irregular modifications of sibilants may be noted—
chitá^lí, forty six, < ṣaṭ-catvárimshat
chivə^~Já, fifty-six, < ṣaṭ-pan~cáshat
shrí^~, a tree, < shiríṣa-
həbhá, all, < sarva-
həggun excrement, < shakṛta-.

and [ṣ] in numerals **che~**, 6; **ch^bbí**, 26; **chətrí**, 36; **chiáṭh**, 66; **chihəttur**, 76; **chiásí**, 86; **chiánve**, 96.

[y-] is almost invariably changed to [J-] as in—
Jəndrá, lock, (yantra-)
Jəule, a wheat preparation, (yavágú-)
Juár, a millet, (yavákára-)
Jutí, shoe, (Pk. juttia, Sk. yuktiká).

The change of [v-] to [b-] exists in quite a large number of words which may be very early loans from the east.
bəddul, cloud, < vardala-
bəu^ṭṛí, wife, < vadhú-+suffix
bit, body, < vitta-
bəJ, injury, < vajra-.

Intervocalic [-k-], [-g-], [-c-], [-j-], [-ṭ-], [-ḍ-] disappeared. In some words they were modified for differentiation.
ghiddá, taken, < Pk. gihita, Sk. gṛhíta-
kiráṛ, shopkeeper, < Sk. kiráta-
thəbbá, bundle, < Sk. stabakaḥ

For doubling compare Pk. ekka-, < Sk. ekaḥ
bá^rá~, twelve, < dvádasha-
já^rá~, eleven, < Pk. ekárasa (Geiger p. 59), < Sk. ekádaṣha-
poc, young ones, < pota, *potya.

III

Sanskrit cerebrals have generally developed to [ɽ] or tone and [ɽ] in the case of aspirates. But it appears that the growth of some words was retarded at a stage beyond which it would have been confused with some other word.

Examples—

[-ṭ-] > [-ɽ- —**kaɯɽá**, bitter, < kaṭuka-
bháɽá, fare, < bháṭakaḥ
kháɽá, arena, < akṣaváṭaḥ
puɽá, packet, < puṭaḥ
vaɽí, pellet of pulse, < vaṭiká.

[-ḍ-] > [-ɽ-]—**cúɽ**, dove-tail, < cúḍaḥ
píɽ, pain, < píḍá.

[-ṭh-] > tone+ɽ—
lo^ɽun, to roll, < loṭhati
pí^ɽá, seat, < piṭhakaḥ.

[ḍh] > tone+ɽ—
há^ɽ, a month, < áṣáḍha-.

But also note the Prakritic stage in

[-ṭ-] > [-ḍ-]—
goḍá, knee, < guṭiká, Cf. Aw. **guṭṭí**, wrist, H. goṛ
beḍá, foolish, < viṭaḥ, vṛddhi to make adj.
roḍá, clean'shaven, < roṭate, or ruṇḍa, ruḍa
táɽ, to peep, < √táḍ.

In a number of words this [-ḍ-] has further changed to cerebral [l] and in the speech of Hindus to lateral [-l-].

təlá, tank, < Pk. taláva, Sk. taḍágaḥ
Jʌ^lá, stupid, < Sk. jaḍaḥ
kol, with, < Sk. kroḍa-
so^lá~, 16, < Sk. ṣoḍasha-.

The tendency had started in the Sanskrit age. Compare the doublets coḍaḥ, and colaḥ.

[-p-] has usually become [-v-] in Awankari. If this [-v-] was lost at some stage, it was restored.

uṭhávuṇ, to raise, < uttiṣṭhápayati
uḍávuṇ, to fly, < uḍḍápayati
kəlvʌttur, saw, < karapatra-
chivʌ~Já, forty six, < ṣaṭ-pañcáshat
levi, paste, < lepa-
bhəṇvíá, brother-in-law, < bhaginí-patiḥ

vʌṭváṇi, easing oneself, < varta-pániyam.

[-p-] > [-v-] is a case of modification from Pali. Compare—

Pk. kavi, < kapi
vyávata, < vyápṛta- (Geiger P. 56)
ková (kopa), cáva (cápa), díva (dípa).

Aspirate stops, excepting cerebrals, were modified in Prakrit into [-h-], which was changed to a tone on the preceding vowel.

nɯ^~, nail, < nakham
mo^ro~, first, < mukhara-
rɯ^, stay, < IE regh-, Eng. rigid
lɯ^ká, light, < *laghukkaḥ
go^á, dung, < gúthá, Pk. gúhá
gú^~, excrement, „ „
ve^lá, free, < viphala-
lo^, longing, < lobha-
dʌ^í~, curd, < dadhíni
rá^vuṇ, to sow, < rádhati.

Note Pk. [-h-] in the following, preserved under conditions of stress—

lıhá~ḍá, iron vessel, < loha-bháṇḍa-
muhá~drá, face, < mukha-antara-
kuháɽí, axe, < kuṭhára-
(-ṭh- > -h- is unusual)
sʌkká, real relative, < sakhá, is irregular.

PI. [-n-] generally becomes [-ɳ-] and PI [-ṇ-] is usually [-n-] in Awankari Examples—

páṇí, water, < páníyam
utáṇá, upside down, < uttánaḥ
thʌn, teats, < stana-
tʌn, stretch, < tanoti
and
pərnálá, drain, < praṇála-
phʌní~r, cobra, < phaṇí
pərní~vuṇ, to mary, < pariṇíyate
ghinnuṇ, to take, < grahaṇam.

Words containing sounds traceable to PI. [-m-] show three historical stages. The oldest words are those in which PI. [-m-] is changed to [-v~-], then nasality was lost and only [-v-] remained and the third group of words contain [u-] or [ɯ] < [-v-] < [-m-] and

sometimes only nasality.

Examples—

(i)

bhə̃vá, turn, < bhramayati
sə̃vák, a millet, < shyámáka-
Jitvá̃, which number, < yatama-

(ii)

dávuṇ, rope for bed-stead, < dámaní
sává, green, < shyáma-
dávṇí, an ornament, < dáminí
ghəṛvʌ̃Jí, pitcher-stand, < ghaṭa-mańciká.

(iii)

dhmuṇ, neck, < dháminí
nə̃drá, subscription at marriage, < nimantrakaḥ
pá̃, itch, < páman
kúlá, soft, < komala-
loí, blanket, < loma + -iká.

The confusion between [-r-] and [-l-] exists. The examples of [-r-] > [-l-] in Awankari are quite plenty. Compare the fact that [l] for [r] in Prakritic age was a characteristic of low-class people.

cá^lí, forty, < catvárimshat
pərálí, bed, < palálíḥ
kəlvʌttur, saw, < karapatra-
ulárun, to throw up, < ullálayati
kərárá, humerous, < karálakaḥ
udhálá, rape, < uddhára-.

All sibilants became [-h-] and then tone. If the preceding sound is a consonant, [-h-] is still there.

[-sh-]

kəlhoṭá, a big pitcher, < kalasha- + suffix
səne^á, message, < sandeshaḥ
ko^, a mile and a half, < krosha-
aĩ^ṇ, hail stone, < ashiní
sʌ̃u^rá, father-in-law, < shvashura-.

[-ṣ-]

há^ṛ, a month, < áṣáḍha
po^, a month, < pauṣa
má^̃, a pulse, < máṣa
kho^, snatch, < skoṣati.

[-s-]

sá^, breath, Pk. sása, Sk. shvása-
mo^lá, pestle, Sk. musala m
visá^, trust, Sk vishvása

[-y-] had disappeared leaving a glide, which again developed to [-j-] liaison and in cases even to [-J-], as

khi^Jṇá, fretting, < kṣíyate.

In some cases [-j-] or [-J-] has been used by mistake (or analogy) **vijá^,** or **viJá^,** marriage, < viváha

[-v-] has been reduced to a vowel, losing its consonantal value entirely.

Also see -ava-, and other combinations in III. 4. ii.

[-h-] usually, turns into tone, but sometimes it unites with the neighbouring plosive to make it aspirate. Examples :—

lo^á, iron, (loha-); **do^trá,** grandson, (dauhitra)
bá^̃, arm, (báhu-), **se^rá,** chaplet, (Pk. sehara)
dhí, daughter, < duhitá
pidhrʌ̃u^rá, wife's uncle, < pitravya-shvashura-
dʌdhiʌ̃u^rá, wife's grandfather, < táta-shvashura-
mághá, dear, < mahárgha-
nibh, pull on, < nirvahati, > nibhahati
ghin, take, < grahaṇam
dhivár, day, < Pk. dih-vár, < Sk. divasa-vár
liph, spleen, < Pk. pilihá, < Sk. plíhá
vighá, a measure of land, < vigraha-

III. 2. Consonant Groups.

Almost all consonant groups, excepting some with [-r-] as second member, have become single consonants initially. In the interior of words they have remained double as in Prakrit, only under conditions of stress. This is also true in the case of homorganic groups. Sometimes the singled consonants have formed new groups in alliance with succeeding consonants.

Compare—

kukkur, cock, (kukkuṭa-); **kukṛá̃,** to cocks
tittur, partridge, (tittara-); **tetre metre,** checkered
uccá, high, (ucca-); **ucává̃,** that can be raised; **uckú,** by guess.

bhuJJuṇ, to get fried, (bhrjjati); **bhuJṇá**, frying
pippul, pepper, (pippala-); **piplá miˇṭ**, peppermint
and
ughruṇ (udghurati), to raise
sʌt, seven, (sapta-); **sʌtcár**, seven and four
sʌp, snake, (sarpa-); **sʌpṇí**, she-snake; **sʌpgoˆ**, lizard.

Consonant groups offer, generally speaking, the same changes as in Punjabi with a few exceptions. Awankari, however, appears to contain a poorer stock of examples than Punjabi. Cf. Jain.§ 153ff.*

III. 2. i. Stop+stop.

[-tk-]—No other example is available.
[-tk-]—**ukkuṇ** (utkramati), to err; **ukká**, at all
səkárí, granary, (satkaroti).
[-tkh-] and [-dg-] no more examples in Awankari.
[-dg-]—**ugluṇ** (udgalati); also **ugálí**, chewing the cud.
[-dgh-]—**ughur**, raise, < udghurati.
[-kt-]—**rʌttá**, red, (rakta-); **Jut**, yoked, (yukta)
muk, finished, (mukta-) is unusually modified for differentiation. Cf. Aw. **muttá**, sent.
[-pt-]—**líttá** (liptaḥ), plastered.

For [-kth-], [-bd-], [-gdh-], [-th-] and [-dbh-] Awankari offers no more examples.

[-bdh-]—**luddhí**, kite, (lubdha-)
jʌddhí, mated, (yabdha-).
[-tph-]—**upphul**, bump, < utphalati.

The following may be added to Dr. Jain's enumeration-
[d-c]—**ucṭuṇ**, to sever, (uṭ-√caṭ-).
[db]—**ubbur**, speak, (udbrú-).

III. 2. ii. Stop+nasal.

[-gn-]—**luggá** (rugṇa-), deserted.

* I shall add notes to Dr. Jain's examples in general. Exceptions will be denoted by 'E'.

[-jnˇ-]—Initial - **nátá**, relationship, (jnˇátitva-) (E.) and
Játá, known, (jnˇátaḥ).
[cnˇ] - **jác**, manner, (yácnˇa).

For other groups exactly the same examples as are given by Dr. Jain from WP. are available in Awankari.

Add [bhṇ]—**khubbhuṇ** (kṣubhṇáti), to stick in.
[dhn]—**bunḍ**, anus, (Sk. budhna-, Pk. bundha, root.)

III. 2. iii. Nasal+stop.

Awankari considerably differs in its treatment of the groups nasal+stop. Some groups behave alike in Punjabi and Lahndi.

[-ńk-]—**khəlvʌˇg**, bellows, (khala-vańku-)
suˇguṛ, shrink, (sańkuṭati).
[-nˇc-]—**ikvʌˇJá**, 51, and other fifties
kuˇJí, key, (kunˇcíká).
[-nt-]—**(sukh) sáˇd**, < shánti-
(loṛ) vʌˇdá, desirous, < -manta-.
[-ṇṭ-]—**vʌˇḍ**, divide, < vaṇṭati
ghʌˇḍí, uvula, < ghaṇṭiká.
[-mb-]—Awankari has **lʌmmá**, long, not **lʌmbá**,
cummuṇ, to kiss, (cumbati)
lʌmkuṇ, to hang, (lambate)
kuṛum, child's father-in-law (kuṭumba-).

Awankari is consistent in modifying the group [-mb-] to [-mm-] or [-m-] as the case may be. For a couple of exceptions see VIII. 3. ii. (Loans).

Awankari reduces even Punjabi [-mb-] to [-mm-] as in—
əmmur'sʌr, Amritsar, P. **ambarsar**
ʌm, mango, P. **amb**.
etc.

The group [-mp-] is modified like [-mb-] to [-mm-].
Compare with Punjabi—
limmuṇ, to plaster, P. **limbaná**
kʌmṇá, trembling, P. **kambaná**
tumṇáˇ, carding, P. **tumbaná**
Jhʌm, shower, (jhampa-).

The groups nasal + voiced unaspirated stops are treated in

Awankari exactly as in Punjabi.

Examples are—

[-ṅg-] is preserved after a short vowel. When it is preceded by a long vowel, [ṅ] turns into nasality. For example :—

bhaĩ˜gá, squint-eyed, (? -apáṅga-).

[-n˜j-]—The same as in Punjabi.

[ṇḍ] > [-nn-] or [-n]- Add examples :—

Aw. **thun,** lips, < tuṇḍa-

munná, three-fourth, < muṇḍaḥ

ḍʌnní, stalk, < daṇḍa-

hərnaũlí, castor,< eraṇḍa-

gʌ^n, enlarged eyelash, <.gaṇḍi, Pa. gaṇḍa,' swelling.

[ṇḍ] is preserved in about an equal number of words. For example see I. 3.

[-nd-]—The same as in Punjabi,

Other groups with nasals as first members are treated as in Punjabi (Jain § 155), excepting the groups nasal plus aspirated consonant. The new idea about such groups is that the nasal loses itself into the stop in— [E]

[ṅkh]—**sʌgh,** throʌt, (shaṅkha-) ; **pígh,** swing, (preṅkhá).

[ṅgh]—**lʌgh,** pass, (laṅghate).

[n˜ch]—**púJh,** wipe, (pron˜chati)

huJh, sweep, (un˜chati).

[n˜jh]—No examples are available.

[ṇṭh]—**kʌḍḍhá,** bank, < kaṇṭha-

khuḍḍhá, blunt, < kuṇṭha-.

[ṇḍh]—Dr. Jain does not mention the group at all. Example in Awankari is **sʌḍḍhá,** male buffalo, < ṣaṇḍhaḥ.

[nth]—**mədhánṇí,** churning stick, < manthana-

kʌdh, wall, < kanthá

gʌḍh, knot, < Pk. ganthi, < Sk. granthi-.

[mph]—**guppha,** cave, < gumphá (E).

[ndh] behaves exactly as in Punjabi. More examples—

kənhárṛá, shoulder, < Pk. kandhára, Sk. kandhára or skandha-taṭaḥ

ratá^ṇá, night-blindness, < rátri-andha-

sʌ^n, house breaking, < sandhi-

hənárá, darkness, < andhakáraḥ.

Note the behaviour of aspiration in the above words.

[mbh]—Aw. **kubhár,** potter, (kumbha-kára-) ; **səbhálun,** to take charge, (sambhárayati).

But in some words it is the plosive that is assimilated to the nasal, as in Punjabi.

thʌm, pillar, (stambha) and such other words may be loans.

Even if aspiration appeared later in such groups, it drove out the nasality—

pʌlugh (paryaṅkaḥ), bedstead, P. **paha˜gh**

kʌgghí (kaṅkataḥ), comb, H., P. **kʌ˜ghí.**

On the other hand, if aspiration disappeared, nasality was saved, as in **sʌ˜gul,** chain, < Pk. saṅkala, Sk. shṛṅkhalá.

Exceptions to the general principles are mainly due to wrong importations and contaminations.

Compare—

əndrʌkkhá, cloak, < aṅga-rakṣakaḥ

ʌ˜J, limb, < aṅga-

kərená, does, < karanta- (Jain p. 98)

khʌddhá, multitude, < skandhaḥ.

á˜ṛṛá, (egg), < áṇḍa, is unusual.

III. 2. iv. Nasal+nasal.

No more examples are available in Awankari, excepting **Jəmá˜drú,** something by birth, < jammántara-

III. 2. v. Nasal+sibilant.

I have nothing more to add to Dr. Jain's observations (§ 161) which apply as well to Awankari as to WP. and Lahndi.

III. 2. vi. Groups with [y].

[-ky-]—**ḍhukkun,** to suit, (dhukyate), Pk. dhukkai.

[-gy-]—**Jogá,** for, (yogyaḥ).

[-cy-]—**covun,** to milk, (cyotati).

[-jy-]—**vʌJ,** to strike, (*vrajyati).

[-ty-]—**vaṭṭuṇ,** to coil, (vaṭyate) ; **leṭuṇ,** to lie down, (leṭyati).
[-ḍy-]—**buḍḍuṇ,** to drown, (buḍyati) Pk. buḍḍai.
[-my-]—No words are available in Awankari.
[-py-]—**khʌppuṇ,** to fret, (kṣapyate) ; **ṭhʌppuṇ,** to roll, (*sthapyate).
[-bhy-]—No examples.
[-ty-]—**pərcávuṇ,** to console, (pratyápayati)
ʌtvár < ádityavára (Sunday) is a loan-word.
[-dy-]—**kháJ,** eatable, (khádyam) ; **vʌJJuṇ,** to ring, (vadyate)
ənáJ, corn, (annádya-) ; **chʌJ** (chádya-), winnowing basket.
[-dhy-]—**mʌJh,** (madhya-), waist
bəJhíná, is tied, (badhyate).
[-ny-]—No examples are available.
[-ny-] > [ńJ]—**Jʌ̃J,** (janyá) ; **thʌ̃J,** teats, (stanya-)
kʌ̃Juk, maiden, (kanyá); **sũJá,** desolate, (shúnya-)
mʌ̃J, neck, (manyá).
Compare Punjabi in which it is treated in two ways.
mʌn, is a loan-word even in Awankari.
[-ly-]—**vʌlluṇ** (valyate), to wrap.
[-vy-]—As in WP.
[-shy-]—**sə̃vák,** a millet; **sálá,** brother-in-law; **sává,** green, etc.
[-ṣy-]—**muṇus,** husband, < manuṣya-
russuṇ, to be displeased, < ruṣyate.
[-sy-]—**nás,** nostril, (násyam).
[-ry-] and [-hy-]—the same examples as in WP., excepting that the word **dájjhaná,** does not occur in Lahndi.
Add after [ky]—
[-khy-]—Aw. **ákh,** say, (√ákhyá-)
əkháṇ, saying, ákhyánam.

III. 2. vii. Groups with [r].

III. 2. vii. (a). r + consonant.

[-rk-]—All the examples mentioned by Dr. Jain are available in Awankari—i.e., **ʌkk, kʌkkur,** t **rʌklá, mʌkṛí,** √**ʌkkur.**
Also add **trʌk** (takra), stink.

[-rg-]—**vʌg** (vargaḥ), flock.
[-rgh-]—**gʌbbhuṇ** (garbhiṇí), pregnant.
[-rc-], [-rd-], [-rj-], [-rb-]—No new phenomenon in Awankari.
[-rṇ-]—The words **cúná,** lime, and **cúrá,** powder, < cúrṇa show that the group had two developments for differentiation.
[-rt-], [-rd-], [-rth-], [-rṭh-]—No more remarks.
[-rp-]—**pápṛí** (parpaṭiká), layer.
[-rbh-]—**gʌbhrú** (garbha-rúpa-), husband, young man.
[rm-]—**kəmávuṇ** (karmápayati), to earn.
[-ry-]—**sʌliháJ** (shyála-jáyá), brother-in-law's wife.
[-rl-]—No example is available at all.
[-rv-]—**nibbhuṇ,** to be finished, < nirvahati.
[-sh-]—The same **dʌssuṇ,** to tell, and **pásá,** side.
[-rṣ-]—**kʌssuṇ** (karṣati), to tie firm
tʌssá (tarṣaḥ), thirsty, Pk. tassia.
but **vʌ^rá,** year, (varṣa-).

III. 2. vii. (b). Consonant + r*

[-kr-]—**vikkuṇ,** < vikrayam, to be sold
kú̃J (kraun̆ca), a crane.
[-gr-]—**vighá** (vigraha-), a measure of land
gʌḍhṇá (grathnáti), to repair, besides **girá^̃,** morsel.
[ghr-]—Initial in **ghánṛí** (ghráṇiká), oil-mill, (Chaterjee p. 463).
[-jr-]—**bʌJ,** injury, (vajra-).
[-dhr-]—No example in Awankari.
[-tr-]—Retained in specific words (p. 10) and modified in loans or semi-loans to [tt] or [t] as the case may be (VIII. 3. i(b)(3)).
[-ntr-]—**ne̊drá** (nimantrakaḥ), subscription at wedding
á̃drá̃ (ántra-), entrails.
[-dr-]—The same as in WP. Also add **hʌ^rdul** < haridrá-.
[-dhr-]—**ḍhá^vuṇ** (dhrasnáti) to throw down.
[pr-]—Initial in **pʌssur** (prasarati), **pʌch,** (pracchyati). Also see the chapter on Cerebralization.
[bhr-]—Initial in **bhʌvuṇ** (bhramati) Pk. (bhamai), go round
bhʌtrí̀á, nephew, (bhrátṛiyaḥ), besides **bhirá,** brother.

*Retention of [r] (I. 3). except in [tr] is not quite regular.

[-mr-]—In Awankari no [b] is intruded—
ʌm (ámra-), **trámá** (támra-)
[-shr-]—**sávuṇ,** (shrávaṇa-), also **hʌ̃Jú,** < ashru, tears.
Add to Jain :—
[-ḍr-]—**bheḍ** (bheḍra-), sheep.
[-tkr-]—**ukkuṇ,** to miss, (utkramati), Pk. ukkamai.
[-str-]—**trímut** (strí-mátá), wife.
[-ktr-]—**Jotur** (yoktram), strap.
[-dgr-]—**ugrá^vuṇ** (udgráhayati), to collect money.

III. 2. viii. Groups with [l].

These groups are very unimportant as hardly an example or so exists in Awankari. Anyhow, their treatment in Awankari agrees with that in Punjabi, as in **phʌgguṇ,** a month ; **vág,** rein ; **kʌppuṇ,** to cut, reap, etc.

Add to Dr. Jain's list—
[-ml-]—**kumávuṇ,** to wither, < √kumla.

III. 2. ix. Groups with [v].

[-kv-]—Initial in **kʌ^ṛ** (kvathate), to boil.
[-jv-] and [-tv-]—the same examples as in Punjabi.
[-tv-]—Initial in **turut** (tvarate), at once.
Medial in **nátá** (jn̄átitvam), relation
chʌppur (chatvara-), shed
luccpuṇá, (Per. luc + Sk. tvanan), rascality.
[-dv-]—**ubásí** (udvásanam), yawn
bárí (dváram), window.
Also **do,** two, **dúá,** second, **dúṇá,** twofold.
No other example is available.
Add [-rdhv-]—**ubbhá,** upper, (ŭrdhva-), Pk. (ubbha-)
[-shv-]—**visá^,** trust, [vishvása-]
and other examples as in Punjabi.
[-sv-]—**másí̃,** not **mássí,** as in Punjabi.
[-sv-]—**sáí̃,** master, (svámin).
sur (svara), tune, is a loanword.

[-hv-]—only **Jíbh,** tongue, (jihvá) is a loanword.

III. 2. x. Groups with a sibilant.

The groups [-ṣṭ-] and [-ṣṭr-] show three historical cases in Awankari. They are changed to
(i) [ṭṭh] or [ṭh] in numerals 8, 18, 28, 38, 48, etc.
and **viṭh,** bird's excrement, < viṣṭá
bhʌṭh (bhraṣṭra), kiln ; **uṭh, oṭhí** (uṣṭra, auṣṭra-).
(ii) [ḍḍh] or [ḍh]—
kʌḍh, take out, < Sk. kṛṣṭa, Pk. kaṭṭha-
(iii) [tone+ṛ] in **ko^ṛ.**
ve^ṛá, courtyard, < Sk. veṣṭa-
dá^ṛ, long tooth, < Sk. daṁṣṭra-.
iṭ, brick, < Sk. iṣṭiká, is a case of deaspiration.
[-ṣk-]—Awankari usually shows deaspiration of Pk. [kkh], as in
sukká, dry, (shuṣka-)
cʌukká (catuṣkaḥ), square
nikkul (niṣkṛta-), go out, but **nikhṛun** (nis-kirati), to separate.
[shc] and [sh-c] behave differently as they also do in Punjabi.
[-ṣṭh-]—**hoṭh** (oṣṭha-), lip.
ko^ṛ (kuṣṭham) has traversed further stages.
[-sp-]—**dupriárá** (duṣpriyakáraḥ), not dear.
[-sp-]—**phʌs** (√spash-), to be entangled
phiruṇ (spirati), to move.
[-ṣp-]—**copuṛ,** (catuṣ-paṭa-), a chess play
nəpíṛ (niṣ-√piḍ), to squeeze.
[sk-]—**khʌddhá,** crowd, (skandhaḥ) ; **khubh** (skuptvá), pierce.
[-stk-]—No more examples in Awankari.
[-st-]—**thʌrí,** cream, (stara-)
thʌ̃J, woman's milk, (stanya-).
[-s+t-]—only **nitruṇ,** to filter, < nistaraṇa-
cʌu̇̃tri, 34, is an example of [-s+tr-]
[-sth-]—**thʌl,** sandy desert, (sthala-)
thiá, became, (sthitaḥ).
[-sp-]—Nothing particular.
[-sph-]—**áphruṇ,** Cf. (ásphāraṇa-), to be stuffed.
phuruṇ (sphurati), to throb.

[kṣ]—The general tendency of the dialect is to change [kṣ] to [kh]. [ch] words are not more than a dozen including the very common **rich** (bear), **macchur** (mosquito), **kach** (armpit), **churá** (knife), **chatrí** (umbrella) and **cháṇṇí** (sieve). The dialect offers some more words not found in Punjabi, namely—

rach, instrument, (rakṣayati).
kuchuṛ, lap, (P. S. M. of **kach**).
chái, ash, (kṣára, if not cháyá)
charná, to have stools, √ kṣar-.

[kh] words are not less than one hundred. Examples :—

ṛ, walnut, < akṣoṭa.
bhukh, hunger, < bubhukṣá
dákh, grapes, < drákṣá
khi^JJuṇ, to fret, < kṣíyate
mákhú, honey, < máksikam
pakh, fortnight, < pakṣaḥ
vakkhí, sides of the body, etc. < vakṣas

In some words [kh] and [ch] forms make doublets for semantic differentiation.

Compare—

kach, armpit, and **kakh,** straw, < kakṣa
rach, tool, and **rakh,** place, protection, < rakṣa, (rakṣá).

Add [-kṣv-]—**cheṛ,** tease (√kṣveḍ) and **chiṛuk,** sprinkle.

[-ts-]—**vacchá** (vatsaḥ), calf; **vəcherá** (vatsa-tara), colt; **macchur,** (matsaraḥ), mosquito.

[-ps-]—No example in Awankari.

[-ṣṇ-]—**ki^nná~,** ugly, (kṛṣṇa-).

[-sn-]—**nú^~,** daughter-in-law, (snuṣá).

[-ṣm-]—**les,** gloy, (shleṣma-).

[-ṣm-]—**kosá,** lukewarm, (koṣma-).

[-sm-]—**əsá^~,** to us (asmán).

We thus see that there is nothing particular in Awankari about groups with a sibilant, excepting [st], [ṣṭh], [kṣ] and [ṣk], which me exceptional treatment.

III. 3. Vowels.

The history of vowels in modern languages is very complicated.

There is no doubt that in unaccented syllables vowels became so weak that they could assume any neutral form, [ə], [i], or [u]. They also disappeared for want of stress.* Complications arise when even in accented syllables they are not preserved.† Some of these changes are not quite clear. Some, however, may be accounted for.

III. 3. (a). Umlaut.

Aw. **much,** moustache, < Sk. shmashru-
muṇus, husband, < Sk. manuṣya
ku~J, slough, < kan~cuka- (or epenthesis)
cu^~J, beak, < can~cu-
kuJh, some, < Old H. kachu
siṇí~, jute, < H. san.

In **phulá^** < Sk. palásha-, u < a, may be due to the labial consonant.

III. 3. (b). Guṇa-Vrddhi Forms.

mo^lá, pestle, < Sk. muṣala-
goṭ, tablet, < Sk. guṭiká
thobá, mud patch, < Sk. sthúbha, a stop.
lávuṇ, curry, < Sk. lavaṇa
cá~Já, clever, < Sk. *can~ca, can~cal
loth, dead body, < Sk. lupta-
ko^ṛ, leprosy, < kuṣṭha, kauṣṭha.

(See also Jain § 38), and our note at page 47).

III. 3. i. Mixtures.

Shortening of vowels before consonant groups or compensatory lengthening may be due to dialectical mixtures—some of which are found even in Prakrits.‡

*See VIII. 4. i. (2)(b).
†See the Chapter on Preservations for regularities.
‡Dr. Jain (Punjabi, page 9) and Pischel pages 72-73.

trikkhá, fast, < Sk. tíkṣṇa-
Jíbh, tongue, < Sk. jihvá
ní˜dur, sleep, < Sk. nidrá
ú˜gh, nap, < Sk. uṅkhati
unn, wool, < Sk. úrṇá
ubbhá, upper, < Sk. úrdhva-
muḍh, root, < Sk. múrdhá-
kuccuṇ, brush, < Pk. kucca- < Sk. kúrca-
kʌtte, a month, < Pk. káttia, Sk. kártika
mʌ˜guṇ, to ask, < Sk. márgaṇam.

III. 3. ii. Influence of [-h-]

[h] has a varying effect on the preceding vowel. Examples :—
sá^, hare, < shasha-
pá^r, as well as **pāu^r,** part of time, < prahara-
dá^, ten, < dasha-
vá^ṇ, streamlet, < váhiní
nāṁ^, nail, < nakha-
vāĩ^gí, a carrier, < vahaṅgiká
bāu^, sit, < √upvish
púJhuṇ, to wipe, < proṅchati
mí^, rain, < megha-

For explanations, see Dr. Jain (Punjabi, pp. 26ff). Compare also our note on [-ava-] in III. 4. ii.

In Awankari the vowels have been treated better than in Punjabi. Compare—

Aw.	**hʌ˜Jú,** tears	Punjabi	**iṇjh**
	kʌtthe, where		**kitthe**
	mʌruc, pepper		**mirc**
	hʌrnāṁlí, castor		**riṇḍi**
	kiJh, some		**kuJh**
	pʌ˜Jtá^lí, forty five		**pāĩ˜tálí**
	vʌl, crepper		**vel**

None of the words with [āi] < [á] mentioned by Jain (§ 30 (ii)) is found in Awankari, excepting **pāĩ˜trí,** which may be a loanword.

a > **au** (Jain § 33 ii) is not available in Awankari.

i > **e** (Jain § 34) is also not available in Awankari.

i > **ú** is doubtful even in Punjabi.

Awankari appears to be more cautious than Punjabi in effecting changes in vowels.

Jún, past or future birth (yoniḥ); **ʌppəṛná,** to reach ; **bəhāĩṛá,** myrobalan, (vibhítakaḥ); **khenú,** ball, (kandukaḥ) are loan-words. For **khenú,** the specific Awankari word is **khʌ˜ḍúrí.**

We have stated that many words with long vowels < short vowels are loans (VIII. 3.). Some irregular vowel and consonant changes must be due to wrong importations.

Differentiation may also be one of the causes of unusual sounds. For example from Sk. majjá, **mʌJ,** marrow, would be confused with **mʌJ,** winnower, and **mʌJh,** already means buffalo, in Awankati. Hence **miJh,** marrow.

So also Aw. **kittí,** how many, < Sk. kati-
dhirkháṇ, carpenter, < Sk. takṣana-
lid, dung, < Sk. larda-
also compare Deshi liṇḍa-.

In **reṭhá,** soap-nut, the initial vowel [a] might have shifted to [i] in Sk. -driṣṭa, and then [ai] > [e] in Awankari **reṭhá.** Also note metathesis of [í] in **rís,** envy, < írṣyá.

III. 3. iii. Treatment of [ṛ]

Initial [ṛ-] become [ri] in Awankari.
rich, bear, < ṛkṣa-
riJJhuṇ, to be cooked, < ṛddhyate.
[u] in **rut,** season, is due to umlaut, < ṛtu-.

Medial [-ṛ-] shows three developments, namely [a], [i] and [u], but it appears from the majority of words that Awankari belongs to that Prakrit which had modified [ṛ] almost regularly to [i]. Compare Gujrati, which as Turner (p. 348) thinks, treats [ṛ] as [i], or [u]. Examples :—

[ṛ] > [a]

Aw. **sʌ˜gul,** chain, < Sk. sṛṅkhalá
vaḍḍhí, bribe, < Sk. vṛddhi-
nʌccuṇ, to dance, < Sk. nṛtyate
ghʌs, to be rubbed, < Sk. ghṛṣyate
kaḍḍhuṇ, to take out, < Sk. kṛṣṭa-.

[ɾ] > [u]

(influence of labial consonant may be noted in some).

bhuJJuṇ, to be fried or parched, < bhɾjyate
pucchuṇ, to ask, < pɾcchati
moiá, dead, < mɾta-
ghuṭ, press, < ghɾṣyate
suṇ, hear, < sɾṇoti.

[-ɾ-] > [i]

triˆ, thirst, < Sk. tɾṣá, (long [i] in final position).
ghiddá, taken, < Sk. gɾhíta-
dissuṇ, to be seen, < Sk. dɾshyate
siˆ˜g, horn, < Sk. shɾnga-
vicchú, scorpion, (vɾshcika-); **midh,** (√mɾdh), crush
kiˆnnáˆ˜ (kɾṣṇa-), ugly, **cith,** (√cɾt-) grind
ḍiṭṭhá, seen, < Sk. dɾṣta-
khiṭṭí, pleiadas, < Sk. kɾttiká
ghio, ghee, < Sk. ghɾta-
rich, bear, < Sk. ɾkṣa-.

In **kíá,** done (kɾta-) and **tríá,** third, (tɾtíya-), lengthening is analogical.

III. 3. iv. Treatment of [ai].

[ai] > [e] regularly in accented syllable.

Examples—

cetur, a month, < caitra
eká, unity, < aikyam
tel, oil, < taila-.

III. 3. v. Treatment of [au]

[au] > [o] regularly in Lahndi.

oṭhá, belonging to camel, < auṣṭra-
potrá, grandson, < pautra-
doˆtrá, daughter's son, < dauhitra-
koˆɾ, leprosy, < kauṣṭha-
odur, sad, semantic extension of Sk. audárika and Pk. odariya.

III. 3. vi. Svarabhakti.

On page 388, Chatterjee says "Epenthesis-cum-umlaut is also noticed in Lahndi and Sindhi". As regards Lahndi, Chatterjee's remark requires some modification. Awankari penultimate [u] is a substitute for [ʌ] which has appeared as Svarabhakti in **Jʌnʌm, cʌkkʌr, ṭikʌs,** etc. The svarabhakti in Awankari is as common as in Punjabi or Bengali, but it has an additional effect of Apabhramsha when the svarabhakti occurs in the penultimate position. Compare—

puttur, son, < pᵘtra-
cʌkkur, wheel, round, < cakra-
pʌ˜gut, line, < panktiḥ
Jotur, strap, < yoktram.

Svarabhakti [ʌ] and [i] occur in other positions of an Awankari word.

Examples—

parseo, sweat, < Sk. prasveda-
pʌɾdádá, great grandfather, < Sk. pra-táta-
girá˜, village, < Sk. gráma-
girá˜ˆ, morsel, < grása-
bhirá, brother, < Sk. bhrátá.

The prefix **pʌɾ-** < prati, is used in about 20 words in Awankari. Pk. svarabhakti has made the following Awankari words—

sʌˆriá˜, rape seed, < Pk. sarisava (sarṣapa)
vʌˆrá, year, < varisa (varṣa)
cúrá, powder, < cúraṇa (cúrṇa-).

III. 3. vii. Guṇa-Vrddhi

The use of Guṇa-vɾddhi forms has been extended in Awankari (1) to make doublets for differentiation, (2) to make nouns from verbs, (3) to make adjectives from nouns, (4) to make agental nouns from nouns, and so on.

Examples—

(1)

Aw. (i) **mʌ˜dá,** bad — Sk. mandaḥ
má˜dá, dying

III

(ii) **cʌ̃J** (now obsolete), talkative, < can˜ca
cá˜Já, clever, < ca˜ncal.
(iii) **kunní˜,** a pitcher Sk. kuṇḍam
kú^ní, water bag.
(iv) **phʌl,** blade Sk. phalam
phál, plough-blade.

To some phonologists **má˜dá, phál, kú^ní,** etc, may appear to be loans from eastern dialects. But they are doublets in Lahndi itself.

(2)

Aw. **kʌchláṛí,** a sore in the armpit, < kakṣa
tháṗṛá, pat, < Sk. √stháp-
mesá, cunning, < Sk. √miṣ-, meṣya-
pheṭí, disunion, < Sk. sphiṭ, sphuṭ-
loth, dead body, < Sk. lupta-.

(3)

Aw. **bákrá,** of goat	Cf. Aw. **bʌkri,** goat
bheḍá, of sheep	**bhiḍ,** sheep
máJhá, of buffalo	**mʌJh,** buffalo

etc.

(4)

Aw. **hálí,** ploughman	Cf. Aw. **hʌl,** plough
dodhí, milk-seller	**dudh,** milk
Já˜Jí, member of marriage party	**Jʌ˜J,** marriage party

etc.

III. 4. Vowels in Contact.

III. 4. i. General and Diphthongal Treatment.

Awankari offers an interesting treatment of the vowels left in contact in MIA. They become diphthongs in a minority of words. The predominant tendency of the dialect is to monophthongize such vowel-groups. This is done in two ways : Either the group is contracted into a simple long vowel or it is split up by a liaison sound.

Punjabi, indeed, has formed more diphthongs from these vowel groups than Awankari.

Note, for example, that in the opinion of Jain, P. **[á]** from Pk. **[aa]** is unexpected (Punjabi. p. 37 bottom). Compare—

MI [a a] > P. **[eá],** Aw. **[á]**

Aw. **kubhár,** potter, (kumbhakára-), P. **kumheár**
sunárá, goldsmith, (suvarṇakára-), P. **suneár**
bhə˜ḍár, granary, (bháṇḍágára-), P. **bha˜ḍeá r.**

Pk. or Apa [ai] = P. **[ai],** Aw. **[āi]**

Aw. **bhāiṇ,** sister, (bhaginí), P. **bhain**
pāir, foot, (padira-), P. **pair.**

Pk. or Apa [ái] > P. **[ai],** Aw. **[āi]**

Aw. **ḍāiṇ,** witch, (ḍákiní), P. **ḍain,** W. P. **daiṇ**
nāiṇ, wife of a barber, (nápit-ini), P. **nain,** W. P. **naiṇ.**

Aw. **[ɑu]** < MI. áu, au, ao, is also the shortest diphthong very like a monophthong. Cf. Punjabi **[au].**

Aw. **cɑuthá,** P. **cauthá,** fourth
cɑudá˜, P. **caudá,** fourteen
kɑul, P. **kaul,** a cup
pɑuṇá, P. **pauná,** three fourth
cɑukáṭh, P. **caukáṭh,** (catuṣ-káṣṭha-)
cɑusá, P. **cau˜sá,** (catuṣya-).

MI. ea > P. **ai** = Aw. **āi**

chāiṇí, chisel, (chedaní), P. **chainí˜.**

The following instances of diphthongs from MI vowels in contact are noteworthy—

[iá] < [íá], [iá] or [eá] or [áá]

siálá, winter	Sk. shíta-kála-
kiárá, bed of a field	Sk. kedára-
məniárí, merchandise	Sk. máṇikya-kárin
piárá, dear	Sk. priyakára
miliár, gardener	Sk. málákára-
dhiáṛá, day	Sk. divas-vára.

[io] < MI [iu]

ghio, ghee	Sk. ghṛta-
pio, father	Sk. pitá

but

neo͂drá, subscription at wedding, P. **neo͂dá,** (nimantraka).

[uá] < [-uá]

kuárá, unmarried, < Sk. kumáraḥ

Juár, millet, < Sk. yavákáraḥ

[á u] and [á-i] are still held apart as diphthongs in a majority of words. They are rarely contracted in Pk. (Turner § 28). For [au] see examples above. Note [ái] in **nái,** barber, **dái,** nurse, **sái͂,** master, etc.

The latter diphthong survived on account of its terminational position.

So also [úi] in

súi, needle, and **khú^i,** a small well.

For more diphthongs see the Chapter on Diphthongs in other part of our book "Lahndi Phonetics".

Note—The fact that Awankari has a very large number of diphthongs (see Chapter on Diphthongs in "Lahndi Phonetics"), and yet it has a strong tendency towards monophthongization, appears to be paradoxical, but it may be noted that most of the Aw. diphthongs are terminational. We may say Awankari favours diphthongs at the end of words but not so much in medial positions.

III. 4. ii. Monophthongal treatment

MI. [a a] is contracted to [e] in Punjabi.* In Awankari it has threefold treatment.

Pk. [a a] > Aw. [á]

Aw. **chálí,** goat, < Sk. chágala-
kənhárá, shoulder, < Sk. skandha-taṭa.

Pk. [a.a] > Aw. [e]

Aw. **ber,** jujube, < Sk. badara-
kelá, banana, < Sk. kadali
vəcherá, colt, < Sk. vatsa-tara
nəherun, nail-cutter, < Sk. nakha-haraṇa-
ləmerá, longer, < Sk. lambatara-.

*Jain § 103.

Pk. [a-a] > Aw. [āi]

In the opinion of Turner, aa > **āi** is due to the influence of Jain Prakrit—(Gujrati, p. 337).

vāiṇ, mourning song, < vacana-
āi^ṇ, hailstone, < ashiní
pāi, lie, < patati
pāiṛí, foot-rope, < pada +Aw. -ṛí.

Pk. [ai] > Aw. [āi]

bhāiṇ, sister, < Sk. bhaginí
pāir, foot, < Sk. padira-.

Pk. [a á] > Aw. [á]

kubhár, potter, < Sk. kumbhakára-
khəláṛá, arena, < Sk. khala-váṭaḥ
hənárá, darkness, < Sk. andhakára-
sunárá, goldsmith, < Sk. suvarṇakára-.

Pk. á a, á á, áya, áyá, aa > Aw. á

pá, one fourth, < Sk. pádaḥ
chá͂, shade, < Sk. cháyá
vá, wind, < Sk. vátaḥ
savvá, one and a quarter, < Sk. sapádaḥ.

Pk. [a a] > Aw. [āi]

khāiná, eats, < khádati
trāi^, terrified, < trásaḥ.

aya or áya, also behaves similarly. Compare—

[āi] in **parnāiná,** gets married, < pariṇayati
kāiḍá, how long, < kaya-vaḍra, (Pischel p. 308).

All causative forms are from -ayati, as

khəvāiná, makes eat
cāiná, lifts, (tr. in the form of causative)
həṭāiná, removes etc.

Pk. [ái] > Aw. [āi]

sāiṇ, mistress, < Sk. sváminí

Dr. B. D. Jain, Punjabi Phonology § 103.

aitvár, Sunday, < Sk. ádityavára
Jaiphʌl, a medicinal fruit, < Sk. játiphalam

Apa. [áu] > Aw. [á]
Present Ind. I Singular

Jívá˜, I may live, < jívámi
vʌ˜Já˜, I may go
kʌrá˜, I may do etc.

Pk. [i á] or [i a] > [í] in Aw.

vʌṭṭí, touchstone, < Sk. vartiká
vʌnní˜, bride, < Sk. vanitá
thí, become, < Sk. sthitaḥ
síruk, quilt, < Sk. shíta-rakṣaka-
kunní˜, pot, < kuṇḍiká
goṭí, dice, < guṭiká.

Pk. [i a] or [e a] > [e] in Aw.

neṛe, near, < Sk. nikaṭa-
nem, rule, < Sk. niyama
ḍe^ḍh, one and a half, < Pk. divaddha
ne˜drá, wedding subscription, < Sk. nimantrakaḥ.

Pk. [i i] > Aw. [í]

chíṭ, calico, < Sk. kṣipta-citra-.

Pk. [ie] < Aw. [e]

nərel, cocoanut, < Sk. nárikela-.

MI [ía] > Aw. [e]

keJhá, how, < kídṛsha, Pk. kíasa.

Pk. [ia] > Aw. [í]

pílá, yellow, < pítala-
sí, cold, < shíta-.

[ua] or [úá] > Aw. [ú]

súr, swine, < shúkara-
Jú˜, louse, < yúká.

Apa. [uu] as in Punjabi (Dr. Jain p. 39)
Pk. [ea] > Aw. [ai]

chaiṇí, chisel, < Sk. chedaní.

MI Ou ? < PI. -oma- = [ú]

kúlá, soft, < Sk. komala-
lú˜, soft hair, < Sk. loma-.

PI or MI [-ava-]

The behaviour of the combination [-ava-] is varied and uncertain. [-ava-] becomes [au] in a majority of words.
Examples—

Jau, barley, < Sk. yavaḥ
nau˜, nine, < Sk. nava-
kaul, a cup, < Pk. kavala-
kauḍí, shell, < Sk. kapardiká

The next historical stage is represented by the words containing [o] from [ava-], as in

olú, cistern, < Sk. avaṭa, Pk. avaḍa
ho, be (imper.), < Sk. bhava-
etc.

The following are irregular importations—

pʌllá, scarf, < Sk. pallava-
səlúṇá, curry, < Sk. salavaṇa-
əmúdhá, upside down, < Sk. avamúrdha-
cáṛá, caiṛá, wide, < Sk. capaṭa-.

Also note restoration of [ava] in the next section.

III. 4. iii. Liaison

The insertion of [h], [j] or [v] glide between two vowels forming a hiatus is a very old phenomenon. It has been noted in Pali by Geiger (pp. 75-76) and in Prakrits by Pischel (pp. 137, 293 and 299) and by Weber and Goldschmidt. It has been discovered in Assamese by Dr. Kakti (pages 73, 121-122) and in Gujrati by Turner (p. 340 of Gujrati). Dr. Jain appears to be doubtful about its occurrence in Punjabi (Punjabi, p. 36), although at page 47 of his treatise he accepts [-y-] liaison in Pk. khayamda, Lahndi **khai˜dá,** eats. The

actual occurrence of [h] in Old Bengali orthography (Chatterjee, p. 341) is interesting.

The intrusion of a liaison 'between vowels is important in the light of NIA developments. If it is simply a glide, it will lead to the growth of diphthongs. If, on the other hand, it is a consonant or semi-vowel, it will live to keep vowels separate.

Awankari belongs to a Prakrit which developed liaison with consonantal element. It shows a much greater number of words in which hiatus was avoided, usually with the sound [v] and sometimes with [h]. [j] is rare.

Examples—

[j].

vijá^, viJá^, marriage, < viváha-
huṛjál, wolf, < ?
mojá, dead, < mṛtaḥ.

[-h-]

nihán̤i, wife of a barber, also **nián̤i**
kəcá^rí, court, < Sk. kṛtya-gṛha-.

In **cm^dri,** headman, tone is from -h- liaison. Compare Sk. caturdhurika (Chatterjee p. 337).

Jo^r, a caste, < Sk. jaya-kara
do^r, double, < Sk. dvi-kara (division) (Chatterji p. 701).

[-v-]

levi, paste, < lepa-
pəvá~d, wrong side of bedstead, < pádánta-
pává, leg of bedstead, < pádaḥ
khʌ~ḍvá, turban, < khaṇḍa-
rətvá^~, motions with blood, < rakta-áma-
tre^vur, suit of clothes, < tri-vara.

The infinitives like Aw. **khávuṇ,** to eat, (khádanam), **devuṇ,** to give, (dánam) are also interesting.

ḍivuṭ, wick, < Sk. dípa-vartiḥ
bhəṇvíá, brother-in-law, < Sk. bhaginí-patiḥ
səváiá, one and a quarter fold, < Sk. sapáda-
nəveklá, alone, < Sk. na-ekala-
bhirává, 0 Brother (Voc.), Nom. **bhirá**
bá^vá~, arms (pl.), Sing. **bá^~,**
pəchává~, shadow, < Sk. pracháyá.

IV

GENERAL PROBLEMS IN MODIFICATIONS

IV

GENERAL PROBLEMS IN MODIFICATIONS

1. Cerebralization.
2. Nasalization.
   (i) Historical Nasalization.
   (ii) Final Nasality.
   (iii) Nasality from PI.
   (iv) Adverbial Nasalization.
   (v) Nasality in the stem.
3. Denasalization.
4. Aspiration.
5. Deaspiration.
6. Metathesis.
7. Intrusion of [-r-].
8. Prothesis of [-h-].

IV. 1. Cerebralization.

If we compare notes with Dr. Jain (pp. 87ff), it appears Awankari is a more cerebralizing dialect than Ludhiani. But as compared with southern Lahndi dialects, in which PI [d-] usually appears as [ḍ], Awankari cannot be said to favour cerebralization. Anyhow, Awankari does not offer any instance of a cerebral sound changing

to a dental or palatal one. On the other hand, examples of dentals changing to cerebrals are quite common. Ardhamagadhi presents cases of spontaneous cerebralization in the interior of words, such as

aḍḍhaijja	Skt. ardha-tr̥tíyaḥ
maṭṭiá	Sk. mr̥ttiká
vaṭṭi	Sk. vartiḥ
ṇaṭṭaa	Sk. nartakaḥ
ṇívvaṭṭei	Sk. nirvartate.

Awankari belongs to that form of Prakrit or Apabhramsa which had the tendency of initial cerebralization. Medial cerebralization must have been influenced by Dravidian and other non-aryan languages. On page 489, Chatterjee says, 'A great many NIA words with initial cerebral are evidently deshi in origin. But it is noteworthy that the cerebral as an initial sound does not occur in Dravidian, at least in m dern Dravidian. Kol or old kol, possibly, had cerebrals initially.'

Bloch also thinks that the existence of initial cerebral "is the most obscure event in the history of the Indo-Aryan consonants."

Most of the cerebralized consonants occur initially in Awankari and they are usually from dentals. The existence of cerebral-dental doublets has been noticed by Przyluski (Non-Aryan in India, ed. Bagchi, P. 158) in Pali. Sk. or Pk. [t-] or [-tt-] usually changes to [ṭṭ] or [ṭ].

Aw. **ṭur,** walk, < Sk. turate, hastens, P. **turaná**
ṭikká, mark, < Sk. tilaka-
ṭo^, feel by hand, < Sk. √tuh
ṭu~ḍ, stump, < tuṇḍa-
miṭṭí, earth, < mr̥ttiká, Pk. maṭṭi
chiṭ, calico, < kṣipta-citra-
bhiṭṭá, lump, < bhittakaḥ (piece)
Juṭ, be yoked, < yukta-
khʌṭ, dig, < Pk. khatta from Sk. √khan-
vʌṭ, wick, < Pk. vaṭṭi, Sk. vartiḥ
nʌṭ, acrobat, < Pk. ṇaṭṭaa, Sk. nartakaḥ
vəlṭo^á, an iron pitcher, < Sk. vartuloha-.

Medial [-t-] has reached further stages in
nicṛun, to be squeezed, < niṣcotate
kiráṛ, shopkeeper, < Sk. kirāta-

bəhaiṛá, myrobalan, < Sk, vibhiṭakaḥ.

It may be noted that the above three words exist also in many other NIA languages.

A Sanskrit conjunct changing to Pk. [th] or [tth] usually changes to [ṭh] or [ṭṭh] as the case may be.
ṭhʌ^ḍḍhá, cold, < stabdha- (taken from Pk. thaddhao)
ṭhʌm, hold, < Pk. thambai, Sk. stambhate
ṭhullá, fat, < Pk. thulla, Sk. sthūlaḥ
ṭhʌr, to be benumbed, < √sthara, lexicon sthalati
trʌṭṭhá, frightened, < trasta-
bəhʌṭṭhá, amulet, < báhustha-.

Aw. **kʌ^ṛun,** P. **kaṛhaná,** is not from √kvath- as Jain thinks, but from √kaṭh-. Pk. kaḍhai. Cf. Kaṭhina (hard).

Sk. [d-] usually changes to [ḍ-], as in
ḍʌnná, staff, < Sk. daṇḍa-, Pk. ḍaṇḍa
ḍá^ḍhá, strong, < Sk. dárḍhya-
ḍhāḍí, bonfire, < Sk. dáha-, cf. Guj. ḍáha
ḍoṭá, double, < Sk. dvi-varta-
ḍeḍhí, porch, < Sk. dehalí
ḍʌ~k, bite, < Sk. daṁsha-
ḍʌ~g, bite, < Sk. daṁsha-
ḍíyá, earthen lamp, < Sk. dípakaḥ
ḍiṭṭhá, seen, < Sk. dr̥ṣṭa-.

So also Pk. [d] or [dd]
ḍeḍh, one and a half, < Pk. divaddha, Sk. dvi-arddha-
ḍá^vuṇ, to place, < Sk. drághate
kāṇḍí, cowrie, < Sk. kapardiká
ḍʌḍḍú, frog, < Pk. daddura, Sk. dardurah.

Sk. or Pkt. [dh] or [ddh] changes to [ḍh] in
ḍhívur, cook, < Sk. dhívara-
ḍhái, 2 1/2, < Pk. aḍḍhaijja, Sk. ardha-tr̥tíyaḥ
ḍhʌṭṭhá, fallen, < Pk. dhattha, Sk. dhavasta-
ḍhá^vuṇ, to drop, < Sk. √dhras-.

To me it appears that the process of cerebralization was somewhat like this. Sanskrit borrowed certain cerebral sounds from non-Aryan languages and extended their use to Indo-Aryan words as well. Compare—

IE. dí	Sk. ḍí, to fly
Vedic atati	Sk. aṭati, wanders.

Prakrit further extended their use analogically to a large number of words. Compare.—

Sk. dahyate	Pk. ḍajjhai
Sk. √kvath	Pk. √kaḍh
Sk. √pat	Pk. √paḍ.

In Prakrit, [n] became [ṇ] and thus cerebralization was extended to all dentals. The process was carried on by NIA languages. Sometimes a Pk. cerebral helped in bringing up another cerebral by assimilation. Sometimes it was analogical to similar forms in MI.

Besides dentals, [r] and [l] have also the tendency to cerebrality. See also III. 1. to understand the relationship between [r], [l] and [ṛ]. Note also that non-initial [l] is, otherwise too, cerebral [l] in the speech of Awankars proper.

Examples of [r] or [l] becoming [ṛ]—

Aw. **kuhāṛí**, axe, < Sk. kuṭhára-
paṛdaⁿd, joint tooth, < Sk. pradanta-
paṛotrá, great grandson, < Sk. pra-pautra-
paṛvál, trichiasis, < Sk. pravála-
dhúṛ, dust, < Sk. dhúli-
boṛun, to drown, < Sk. lex. bolayati, sinks.

[r], [l], and [ṛ] also helped in cerebralizing a plosive in the vicinity.

Compare in this connection Dr. Chatterjee (p. 492) who says that [ṭh] of many words like ṭhaharná, ṭhag, "is unexplained". In my opinion NIA languages (at least some) have inherited this tendency of cerebralizing dentals from Prakrit. There is no doubt that this process has not yet been completed. Hence Dr. Jain's misunderstanding (P. 87). A time may come when all dentals are replaced by cerebrals. Deráwáli Lahndi has already done this with regard to initial [d-].

IV. 2. Nasalization

Nasalization of vowels in the vicinity of nasal consonants has been discussed in the "*Lahndi Phonetics*". Please correct Dr. Jain's view (§. 115), who thinks that nasality in Aw., P. **má^ⁿ**, a month (mágha-), **má^ⁿ**, a pulse (máṣa-), **mú^ⁿ**, face, is due to the presence of the preceding [m], which is not an unqualified condition.

Note that no nasality takes place in—

Aw. **melá**, fair	**másí**, mother's sister.
miṭṭí, clay	and
nʌk, nose	**necá**, faith, snake of a smoking pipe.

Nasality in the following may be independent and spontaneous, if not analogical.

má^ⁿ (mágha-), a month, **mú^ⁿ** (mukha-), mouth
nú^ⁿ (snuṣá), daughter-in-law, **nāⁿ^ⁿ** (nakha-) nail
mí^ⁿ (megha), rain.

It appears that final tone does not expel the nasality. Compare note No. (1) under "Denasalization". On the other hand it greatly helps nasalization.

IV. 2. i. Historical Nasalization

In the following words, for example, no nasal consonant is now found in the vicinity of a vowel, but at one stage (PI or MI) there was a nasal consonant which has now disappeared, leaving nasality behind—

Aw. **sáiⁿ** (svámin), master	**giráⁿ** (gráma-), village
áⁿ (áma-), mucus	**dhúⁿ** (dhúma-), smoke
páⁿ (páma), itch	**lúⁿ** (loma-), soft hair
gəldáⁿvá, neck-rope, (galla-dáma)	**neⁿdrá** (nimantrakaḥ), wedding subscription
ʌsseⁿ (áshvina), a month	**kāiⁿ^ⁿ** (káṁsya-), bronze.

See also examples of [m] changing to nasality in Awankari in III. 1.

For **hiⁿJe, huⁿJe**, like this, like that, < evam, compare Dr. Chatterjee's note (Bengali pp. 857, 860). "Western Apabhraṁsha forms show MIA nasalization of [v] in ewⁿá, jewⁿá, tewⁿá. The two latter forms are, of course, analogical.

The nasalized vowel, in the opinion of Pischel (Pali. p. 131-134), cannot be traced to PI [n], or [m]. The above instances clearly show that nasality in certain words is a remnant of ancient [n] or [m]. Dr. Jain endorses this view of ours (Punjabi, pp. 43-44).

IV. 2. ii. Final Nasality

Final nasality is not only direct from -am termination, but it is also analogical to the neuter gender forms. It does not appear to be spontaneous in the following words, for example—

Aw. **sí˜** (shíta-), cold
krí˜ (karíra-), a tree
gú˜ (gútha-), excrement
girá˜ (grása-), morsel
má˜ (máṣa-), a pulse
sʌn˜ (shapatha-), oath
chá˜ (cháya-), shade
Já˜ (yúká), louse
mí˜ (megha-), rain
di˜o (divasa-), Sun, day
mú˜ (mukha-), face
cāūdá˜ (caturdasha-), fourteen
bá˜ (báhuḥ), arm
Jaū˜ (yava-), barley
há˜ (hṛdaya-), heart
bhú˜ (busa), straw
pʌrchá˜vá (pracháya), shadow.

IV. 2. iii. Nasality from PI.

-áni termination has been extended to a number of words, direct or by analogy—

Aw. **dʌ˜Jí˜** (dadhini), curd,
gá˜, cow
mʌJhí˜, buffaloes
sítá˜, Sita
etc.

IV. 2. iv. Adverbial Nazalization

Adverbial nasalization is also inherited from -am or -bhyám forms, although generally it is also analogical.

Examples—

Aw. **bʌ˜ú˜**, much, < Sk. bahu-
tá˜, then, < Sk. tadá
hʌttho˜, by hand, < hastábhyám
kʌttho˜, whence, < Sk. kutaḥ
ʌkkhí˜, with eyes, < Sk. akṣibhyám
etc.

IV. 2. v. Nasality in the stem

Nasality in the stem of a word is rare, which means that Awankari does not have the tendency to spontaneous nasalization. Compare—

H., G. á˜kh, eye, Aw. **ʌkkh**
ú˜ṭ, camel, Aw. **uṭh**
sá˜p, snake, Aw. **sʌp**
Guj. cháḍvu˜, to leave, Aw. **choṛun.**
H. á˜sú, tears, Aw. **ʌthrú,**
H. ú˜cá, high, Aw. **uccá**
H. ho˜ṭ, lip, Aw. **hoṭh**

Awankari and other Lahndi dialects and Punjabi agree in this respect.

Only in foreign words, independent nasalization is appreciable (See X. 4 i. and XI. 3.).

As Chatterjee (Bengali p. 368), suggests, "It seems there was an old tendency in Indo-Aryan, imposed upon it, it may be, by the non-Aryan speeches, towards articulation through both the mouth and the nose." Even if there were no doublets of old, new doublets have been formed for phonetic semantic differentiation. These can be possible cases of spontaneous nasalization.

With reference to the above, also note Dr. Kakti's remark (Assamese p. 146) : "Even in MIA the principle of spontaneous nasalization operated within a restricted area ; but in NIA, every group of double consonants* could be nasalized, e.g. Assam. nindá, < nidrá, sanca (satya-), ghá˜h, grass, pi˜h, to powder."

This is a better suggestion, indeed.

Awankari examples are—

nʌ˜gá (nagna-), naked
vʌ˜Juṇ (vrajati), to go
ní˜dur (nidrá), sleep
ṃu˜g (mudga-), a pulse
mʌ˜guṇ, to ask, (márgaṇam)
má˜Juṇ, to cleanse, (márjanaṁ)
utrá˜J, rope, (uttar-rajju-)
mu˜drí, ring, (mudrá).

IV. 3. Denasalization

(1) Aspiration, as we have noted, is an important condition of denasalization. More examples—

* or PI consonant groups (?)

Aw. **saḍh**, barren, < Sk. ṣaṇḍhaḥ
suḍh, dry ginger, < Sk. shuṇṭhi-
pi^vuṇ, to grind, < Sk. piṁshati
sʌthur, mat, < Sk. saṁstaraḥ
vʌJhá, handle, < Sk. vaṁshaḥ
dá^ṛ, large tooth, < Sk. daṁṣṭra-
khʌ^g, cough, < Sk. *khaṁsá, Pk. khanghá
ulʌgghuṇ, to transgress, < Sk. ullaṅghayati
vāi^tur, a beast of burden, < Sk. váhana-tara,
Dogri vāi^~trá
su^rugh, tunnel, < Sk. suruṅgá
ṭhuṭh, stump, thumb held up as a sign of rejection, < Pk. ṭhuṇṭha
dhuákh, smoulder, < Sk. dhúmayate, also cf. √dhukṣ-, Dogri dhuá~kh
gʌ^ṛ, a boil, < Sk. gaṇḍa-, cf. Assam. ga^~ṛ
thi^ddá, greasy, < Sk. stimitaḥ, P. thindá
mʌṭṭhá, slow, < Sk. manthara-
hʌs, collar, < Sk. ansa-
ghuṭ, something drunk at a time, < Desi ghuṇṭa, H. ghú~ṭ
sugh, smell, < Sk. sṛṅkhati, Pa. siṅghati.

(2) The development of [-m-] to [v] and then to a vowel sound was another phenomenon. Examples—

Aw. **Jəvái**, son-in-law, < jámāṭṛ-
kuárá, unmarried, < kumáraḥ
cāurí, fly whisk, < Sk. camarí
bhāur, bee, < bhramara-
ávlá, myrobalan, < ámalakaḥ, H. ámlá, á~vlá
etc.

(3) Sometimes doublets are formed by denasalization which is intended for phonetic semantic differentiation. For example :—

Sk. ṭaṅká-, > Aw. **ṭʌ~g**, leg ; **ṭʌkká**, double pice
Sk. sphuṭ, > Aw. **phuṭ**, sprout ; **phu~ḍ**, swell.

It seems from the words like **cúṇe~**, long hair, that there were such doublets in PI as well—Sk. cúḍá, cúṇḍá. Also see the Chapter on P. S. M.

(4) Under conditions of stress, nasality is lost as noted in VII. 4. 1 (2)(d). Only a few examples may be given here—

Aw. **mədárí**, juggler, < Sk. mantrakárin

kəserá, metal-worker, < Sk. káṁsyika- ; Pk. kamsia
kəcnár, a tree, < Sk. kan~canára, Pk. kancanára
chiṭáki, 1/16 of seer, < Sk. saṭ-ṭaṅká.

Compare with No. (1) above and note that tone is also a kind of stress.

(5) Denasalization has also taken place in consonant-groups in which the nasal was assimilated to the other member. Examples—

Aw. **luggá**, deserted, < Sk. rugṇaḥ
bhuggá, eaten away, < Sk. bhugna-
pʌb, toe, < Sk. padma-
rok, cash, < Sk. raukma-,
etc., etc.

(6) The following cases are unusual and obscure. Analogy may account for denasalization.

Aw. **cávul**, rice, < Sk. taṇḍulaḥ
siJJuṇ, to be wet, < Sk. sin~cati
trikkhá, quick, < Sk. tíkṣṇa-
kiJh, kuJh, some, < Sk. kin~cit.

IV. 4. Aspiration

Aspiration of originally unaspirated plosives is mainly due to three influences in Awankari, namely, the presence of an aspirate in the vicinity, the effect of PI sibilant, and the metathesis of PI or MI isolated -h-, or even liaison -h-. We may consider the examples of each—

(1)

Aw. **khubbhuṇ**, to thrust in Cf. Sk. skuptvá
khákh, cheeks, < Sk. kakṣa-
khuḍḍhá, blunt, < Sk. kuṇṭha-
khá^dhá, eaten, < Sk. kháditaḥ

(2)

Aw. **kho^**, pluck, < Sk. kuṣṇáti
khʌs, snatch, < Sk. kuṣṇáti
su^rugh, tunnel, < Sk. suruṅga
si~gh, horn, < Sk. shṛṅga-
háṛ, a month, < Sk. áṣáḍha-
phá^, gallows, < Sk. pásha-

IV

phulá^, a tree, < Sk. palásha-
hʌbbo, all, < Sk. sarva-
bhú~, straw, < Sk. busa-.

(3)

Aw. **ghin**, take, < Sk. gṛhṇáti
liph, spleen, < Sk. plíhá
bhāiṛá, bad, < Sk. vikaṭaḥ
nú~dhur, bruise by nail, < Sk. nakha-dari
bhukh, hunger, < Pk. bubhukkhá, < bubhukṣá
mágha, dear, < Pk. mahagga-, Sk. mahárgha-
dhivár, day, < -dih-vár, < divasa-vára-.

Aspiration in the following words is spontaneous—

kiJh, some, < Sk. kiṅcit
khú^, well, < Sk. kúpa-
khittí, pleiadas, < Sk. kṛtiká
khʌkhṛí, melon, < Sk. karkaṭiká
hʌrdhul, tamarind, < Sk. haridrá
dhʌddur, ringworm, < Sk. dadru-.

The tendency of [l] to favour aspiration, as noted by Dr. Jain, is also to be seen. Examples—

cá^lí, forty, and the succeeding figures upto 48
lá^l, saliva, < Sk. lálá
má^l, rope, < Sk. málá, or málya-
cu^l, stove, < Sk. cullih
pe^lí, ant, < Sk. pipíliká.

N.B.—The phenomenon is a continuation of the tendency which had started in Pali (Geiger P. 57) and Prakrit (Pischel, PP. 147ff). Compare—

Pali phalu (paras), knots on a branch
bhusa- (busa-), straw.

Pk. khappara (karpara-)	khila (kila-)
khujja (kubja-)	pharusa (paruṣa-)
phalikā, (parikhá)	kacchabha (kacchapa-)
thúbha (stúpa-)	vibhása (vipásha)
jhaḍila, (jaṭila-)	bhimbísára (bimbisára)

Jain quotes (Punjabi p. 52) Pischel only on one word jhuṭh, lie, but it is clear phonologically that there is nothing new about the phenomenon. (See also Chatterjee, p. 437).

I agree with Dr. Chatterjee that onomatopoeic sense in many of

6.

the above words has brought in aspiration. Most of the onomatopoeic words in Lahndi contain aspirated consonants. Aspiration has grown with sound symbolism.

IV. 5. Deaspiration

lík, line, (lekhá, rekhá)
gáṭá, nape, (ghāṭá)
sáú, gentleman, (sádhu-).
sukká, dry, (shuṣka-)
iṭ, brick, (iṣṭa-)

In my opinion deaspiration in these words is due to contamination with some unaspirated forms. Compare Aw. **iṭ**, brick, and **vaṭṭá**, stone; Aw. **gáṭá**, nape, and Sk. gátra; Aw. **lík**, line, and H. lakír.

The prefix nis- is simply **ni-** in Awankari.

nəpíṛ, squeeze, Sk. √niṣpíḍ
nitár, clarify, Sk. nistárayati.

IV. 6. Metathesis

Metathesis of words from foreign languages is given under X. 4. ii. and XI. 8. Metathesis in words from Sanskrit is also quite common.

Metathesis of whole syllables is not common. Examples—

həmel, necklace, < Sk. mekhalá
niJ, not. Cf. Old H. jani, not.

Examples of words in which vowels have changed places—

Aw. **savádhán**, complete, < Sk. sávadhána-

In the following words -h- or tone shifts its place regressively.

Aw. **viggha**, a measure of land, < vigraha-
já^rá~, eleven, < Pk. eáraha-
hunálá, summer, < Sk. uṣṇa-kála-
hənárá, darkness, < Sk. andhakára-
ghiddá, taken, < Pk. gihita-
háth, sounding, < Sk. H. tháha-, bottom.

Metathesis of -h- or tone is progressive in the following words—

Aw. **lm^ká**, light, < Sk. laghukaḥ
sm^rá, father-in-law, < Sk. shvashura-

Compare also similar examples of two vowels trying to come together by shifting away an intervening sound.

Aw. **ne˜drá**, wedding subscription, < nimantrakaḥ
kaũṛá, bitter, < kaṭuka-

Metathesis in consonants other than -h- (Sk. or Pk.) may be noted below—

Aw. **vəlṭo^á**, a metal pitcher, < Sk. vartuloha-
sʌddhur, longing, < Sk. shraddhá
surʌtthá, clean, < Sk. susthira-, H. suthará
liph, spleen, < Sk. plíhá-
ʌdhkur, ginger, < Sk. árdraka-
kástí (stsm), 11th day, < Sk. ekádashí
muṭuk, crown, < Sk. mukuṭa-
ráshuk (stsm.), demon, < Sk. rákṣasa-
khʌb, wings, < Sk. pakṣa-
chik, pull, < Sk. kṛṣati, cf. H. khicná
lʌ˜ḍoká, loin cloth, cf. H. langoṭá.

It is yet difficult to give any phonetic reason for metathesis of sounds. One may think, as it also appears, that a particular sound is convenient to pronounce before another. But counter examples are so many that hypothetical theories cannot hold good. Compare—

Aw. **bucká**, < Per. bugcah, and Aw. **kácú**, < Per. ɥácú
nʌshká, < náqshah, but **nuksá**, < nuskhah
sʌddhur, but Aw. **hʌrdhul** above
khʌb, wings, but **vʌkh**, separate, and **pʌkh**, fortnight.

I think metathesis is an attempt to effect the least change in stsm. or borrowed words, and to make them look like native words.

IV. 7. Intrusion of [-r-]

On the analogy of preserved consonant groups with [-r-], Lahndi languages have introduced [-r-] in a large number of words. Awankari offers further examples of the intrusive [-r]. Compare Jain § 176.

sʌrbʌ˜dhí, relative, < Sk. sambandhin
trʌkṛí, balance, < Sk. tarku-
trʌklá, spindle, < Sk. tarku-
treḍhá, crooked, cf. P. **teḍhá**
trihájá, thirsty, < Sk. tṛṣitaḥ
cʌũrʌ^ttur, seventy four, < catus-saptati-

trʌp, jump, < Sk. √tarp; √talp.
trámá˜, copper, < Sk. támra-
dhrʌk, fall, onom. dhʌk dhʌk
trʌkṛá, strong, cf. P. **tʌkṛá**
trʌkkuṇ, to stink, cf. Sk. takra- (sour milk).
ʌdhroṛ, to untie, cf. Sk. √ud-har.

IV. 8. Prothesis of [h-]

We have already noted that in respect of vowels, the dialect has a greater preservative tendency than Punjabi and Hindi. Preserved vowels are further safeguarded by the prothetic [h-], which is a specifically Lahndi innovation. Examples—

hʌ˜Jú, tears, < Sk. ashru-
hərnaũlí, castor, < Sk. eraṇḍa-
hik, one, < Sk. eka-
hikʌ^llá, alone, < Sk. ekalya-
hʌs, collar, < Sk. aṁsa-
hʌcchá, clear, cf. H. ʌcchá
hussuṛ, close, < Sk. uṣman
hidde, this side, cf. P. **idde**
hí˜J, like this, < Sk. evam

etc.

V

PHONETIC SEMANTIC MODIFICATIONS

V

PHONETIC SEMANTIC MODIFICATIONS

1. PSM IN VOWELS.
2. PSM BY TONE OR ASPIRATION.
3. PSM BY NASALITY.
4. PSM OF CONSONANTS.
5. PSM BY EXTENSION.
6. PSM LATITUDINALLY.

Phonetic semantic modification of words is an important form of change effected by NIA languages. If we take into account our losses since the ancient Indo-Aryan, we begin to feel that our linguistic heritage is poor. An Awankar student of Sanskrit Dictionary can hardly tick-mark more than ten per cent words which have come down to his mother-tongue in some form or the other. Yet his vocabulary is essentially Indo-Aryan. From each one of the chosen words he has derived a number of vocables. For example—

From Sk. √val-, to move about, we get in Awankari **vʌl**, turn, **vɔ̃ḷ**, turn (transitive), **vel**, to clean cotton, **ʌəlheṭ**, to wrap, **vʌl**, creeper, etc., *or* from Sk. √bruḍ-, to be drowned, we get in the dialect, **burḍ**, drown, **boḍí**, destruction, **boṛ**, dip, **buṛá**, cotton brush, etc.

A narrow-minded Sanskritist might call them Deshi words. According to the new theory they are tadbhavas. As Pischel (Pali,

pages 6-7) puts it: "Indians include among Deshis very different elements. They connect these with all that cannot be traced back to Sanskrit either from the stand-point of form or meaning. Some scholars explain a word as deshya, others the same as tadbhava, each according to his learning in Sanskrit and cleverness in etymologising. Thus appear among Deshis those words which, although they go back to a Sanskrit root, but have no exactly corresponding form in Sanskrit, e.g., páso, eye, Sk. pashyate. Further, there are compounds, whose components are indeed Sanskrit, but whose special meaning is not available in Sanskrit, e.g. acchivaḍ aṇam, shutting the eyes, = akṣi + patana".

Phonetic change in the form to bring about a change in meaning is not, therefore, a new phenomenon in Awankari or other NIA languages. In Sanskrit we get such doublets as,

bhajyate, serves	bhanakti, splits
loṭati, precedes	loṭhati, rolls
saṭṭ, to hurt	suṭṭ, to disregard
akṣati, reaches	akṣṇoti, accumulates
acati, goes, speaks	an˜cati, worships
ajati, runs	anakti, decorates
kakate, wishes	kakhati, laughs
kasati, goes	kaṣati, tests, scratches
pudati, leaves, discovers	poḍati, grinds.

The system of getting more words by phonetic semantic modifications is continued in Prakrit, as in—

pháṭṭai, breaks	phuṭṭai, grows
phiṭṭai, falls	phiḍḍai, runs away
phuḍá, snake	phuḍia, sore
phitta, way	phaḍa, snake's body
phaḍá, snake's hood	

etc., etc.

From Sk. √ dar-, dal-, we get in Pk.—

dalai, pounds	dali-, pulse
daramalai, grinds	daliya, flour
dalia, thing	daria, frightened
dariá, cave	daliá, eye
dara, half	dara, fear

etc.

The importance of this theory has been slightly indicated by

Dr. Turner in tracing the etymologies of certain irregular words in Nepali (Nepali Dictionary; see e.g., copnu). See how helpless Dr. Chatterjee is (Bengali, p. 481) when owing to ignorance of P. S. M. he tries to trace back jhure, weeps, to anjhu or to jhar with a question mark.

V. 1. P. S. M. in vowels

Sometimes a new word is formed just by changing a vowel in the tadbhava word. Examples—

Aw. **kʌtur**, cut as a cloth	**kutur**, cut as a bird does
ṭhʌk, place	**ṭhuk**, beat, **ṭhok**, make firm
cir, crack	**cur**, to ease, **cúrá**, powder
ṭa˜g, hang	**ṭu˜g**, tuck
de^o˜, day, Sun	**de^á˜**, toworrow.

V. 2. P. S. M. by tone or aspiration

Tone also makes doublets in Awankari. Examples—

Aw. **kʌṛ**, to tie	cf.	Aw. **kʌ^ṛ**, be boiled
killá, peg		**ki^l**, to use force
ubál, boil		**ubá^l**, haste
cug, eat		**cu^g**, suck
roṛ, pebbles		**ro^ṛ**, sweep away
Jul, go		**Jhu^l**, blow
hʌḍ, bone		**hʌ^ḍh**, to last.

V. 3. P. S. M. by nasality

Nasal and non-nasal doublets are not very common. But the scheme does exist, as in—

Aw. **vʌJ**, beat, blow	cf.	Aw. **vʌ˜J**, go
truṭ, break		**tru˜ḍ**, pluck
Jháṭá, hair on the forehead		**Jhá˜ṭ**, pubic hair,

V. 4. P. S. M. of consonants

The following are only some of the examples—

Jhul, blow	cf.	**Jhúṇ,** wave
cʌṭ, lick		**cʌkh,** taste
cubh, prick		**khubh,** thrust in
ḍub, drown		**ṭubbí,** dive
ḍʌṭṭá, cork		**ḍʌ̃ḍá,** staff
tʌr, swim, float		**tʌí,** fry
páṭ, be torn		**páṛ,** tear
puJ, suit, reach		**pug,** be finished
círá, turban		**cíṛá,** cloth

V. 5. P. S. M. by extension

The use of suffixes is an old tendency. This has been continued in Awankari which has got copious examples to offer, as—

uḍ, to fly (intr.)	cf.	**uḍár,** to fly (tr.).
uṭh, stand		**uṭhuṛ,** stand up
ul, throw		**ulur,** throw up
co, milk		**cod,** copulate
copuṛ, grease		**cut,** private part of a female
Jhárṛ, dust		**Jhárṛú,** broom
		Jhʌṛ, fall down
ḍʌṭ, stand firm		**ḍʌṭṭá,** cork, stopper
phis, be crushed		**phissí,** a double-faced snake
buṛ, dip		**buṛá,** cotton brush
vʌl, turn		**vəláká,** coil
		vəlheṭ, wrap
		vəlid, roll
dʌ̃d, tooth		**dʌ̃duṇ,** closing of mouth
		dʌ̃dri, edge
		dʌ̃dlá, one having big teeth
kʌch, armpit		**kʌcchá,** drawers
		kəchʌṭṭí, a jacket
cʌṭ, lick		**coṭ,** shoot, **cʌṭṭí,** unpaid labour
		cʌṭṇí, sauce, **cəṭúrí,** a pitcher
		çʌṭṭú, a mortar

mʌc, kindle, rise	cf.	**mʌcuṛ,** wrinkled forehead
		məcán, platform
		mʌ̃Jí, bed-stead
		mʌ̃J, neck
Cf. Aw. **ṭuk,** cut	and	H. ṭukṛá, piece
	Aw.	**ṭok,** check
		ṭokrá, basket
phuṭ, crack		**phuṭṭí,** cotton
		phuṭṭíá̃, pieces of curd
		phuṭárṛ, a crack
		phúṭá̃, random talk.

Sometimes the development of a word is retarded at one stage and the next stage of the word forms a doublet.

Examples—

vʌṭ, earn	cf.	**vʌ̃ḍ,** distribute
		vʌṛ, enter
buḍ, drown		**buṛ,** dip
chʌt, roof		**chʌṭ,** sack
kuʼ̃ḍ, a water receptacle		**kunní,** pitcher.

V. 6. P. S. M. Latitudinally

Most of the words in Awankari are modified phonetically and semantically in more than two ways. All the schemes noted above, sometimes, operate in creating a family of P. S. M.

Examples—

(1) **khul,** be opened		**khiṛ,** bloom
khur, to fall piece by piece		**khilur,** scatter
khuruc, scratch		**khuruk,** itch
khʌ̃ḍ, sugar		**khiʼ̃ḍ,** spread.
(2) **bhʌs,** ash		**bhus,** jaundice
bhussá, pale, sandy		**bhú̃,** straw
bussá, unornamented		**bhʌssuṛ,** drudgery
bhosrí, an abusive term.		
(3) **chʌt,** roof		**chʌJ,** winnowing basket
chʌttur, umbrella		**cheJe,** husks
chʌtrá, ram with a tail		**chʌtte,** long hair
chʌp, hide		**chʌppur,** hut, shed

V

chittur, torn shoe — **chʌṭ,** double-sack
chil, bark — **chilluṛ,** skin, peel.
(4) **Jut,** be yoked — **Juṭ,** be joined
Jutti, shoe — **Juṭṭi,** a piece of cotton
Joṭá, pair — **Joṛ,** join, affection.
(5) **cug,** eat — **cu˜g,** handful
cogá, food — **cu˜gi,** octroi
cugh, suck teats — **cús,** drink in.
(6) **guḍ,** unearth — **gut,** braid
guṭ, thick — **gu˜d,** tie together
gu^n, knead — **guḍh,** coil
gʌ^ḍh, tie, repair — **guduṛ,** rubbish
goṛ, to overpower — **gutthi,** bundle
gutává, fodder made by mixing several things.
(7) **rʌl,** mix — **rul,** scatter away
rol, collect — **lʌṛ,** branch
lʌṛi, series — **lʌṭuk,** hang
ru^ṛ, bake — **lu^ṛ,** flow
roṛ, pebbles and husks in corn — **re^ṛ,** roll
lo^ṛá, a roller — **luḍ,** dangle
lúḍá, fondling.
(8) **gol,** round — **gulli,** tip
goluk, a safe box — **goli,** a tablet, pill
guliái, roundness — **golá,** bomb.
(9) **cʌppá,** front part of the hand — **cʌppur,** wedge
cʌpli, shoe — **cápṛi,** layer
cepi, patch — **cəpeṛ (cāiṛ),** slap
(10) **búr,** pollen — **búrá,** saw-dust
bhúr, distribution of charity — **bhur,** to be eaten away
bhurʌṭṭuṇ, sand-stone

Also see the Chapter on Extensions and see what large families some words have. We are highly indebted to Dr. Turner for his learned article on copnu*, which should open a new vista in phonology.

*Turner: Nepali Dictionary.

VII

EXTENSIONS

VII

EXTENSIONS

(Including History of Final sounds)

Phonologists do not generally care to trace the history of final sounds which they leave to morphologists. It has been a great mistake. Even if we take isolated words and not their grammatical forms, a large number of sounds remain unexplained. No doubt the NIA languages have dropped all final vowels and consonants of the ancient language, but they have built new sounds. The subject requires the serious attention of phonologists. The chapter in hand attempts to discuss the terminational extensions. We have already noted how phonetic semantic extensions were made by modifying medial sounds. Without those modifications and without these extensions, our vocabulary would have been utterly meagre.

Awankari, like Sindhi, appears to be a great word-builder. Note in this connection Beams's suggestion that literary languages have poor stock of original word-building.*

The importance of the study of "extensions" may be judged from the following instance :—

In deriving (Punjabi, page 72) the word **sau˜kkaṇ**, from sapatnī, Jain gives the equation -tn- > -kk- with a question mark. This indicates that the theory of extension had not yet dawned upon

*Vol. II, page 93.

the mind of Jain or Turner. It is not a change of -tn- to -kk-, but the discarding of the older suffix which is still to be noticed in Hindi saut, and extending the word by the new suffix -kk- which is more common in NIA.

The history of terminational sounds is all the more important for the reason that suffixal consonants had frequent changes, not so radical consonants. At the end of words, sounds are not generally accented. Hence they are likely to be attacked frequently.

The originality of NIA dialects lies mostly in their "extensions". Prakrits have been called the "mere apes of Sanskrit". NIA languages show by these extensional sounds, some of which are new inventions, that the apish mentality in them is negligible. On p. 56, Beams says: "The noun in all the modern languages takes its form from the nominative cases of Sk. and omits entirely the grammarians' fiction of a separate base-form". This statement is entirely absurd, for there have been many suffixal innovations in NIA directly from the base or even from the root, as in **pəṛhákú, kəṛáká,** etc.

The study of extensions is important for the study of phonology, philology and semantics.

The first Chapter in Beams: Vol. II, is a masterpiece in this respect. Also refer to Dr. S. K. Chatterji's Bengali, pp. 993ff and Kakti's Assamese, pp. 230ff.

First we shall discuss vocalic and then consonantal terminations in Awankari.

(1) Aw. [-á] < -aka-

It is a very common suffix in NIA used to make masculine nouns, adjectives and verbs. The use of this termination has extended analogically to all these forms. Compare—

səváiá, one and a quarter times, < Sk. sapádaka-
dərokhá, lamp stand, < Sk. dıpa-rakṣakaḥ
dhʌbbá, washerman, < Sk. dhávyakaḥ
dívá, lamp, < Sk. dípakaḥ
bu˜dá, ear-drop (Umlaut and extension), < Sk. bindu-
bháṛá, fare, < Sk. bháṭakaḥ.

(2) Aw. [-á] < pleonastic suffix -á added to past passive participle.
Jullá, gone, from Aw. **Jul,** go < √ jval, √ jvar
ghiddá, taken, < Pk. gihita-

dittá, given, < Sk. datta-
etc.

(3) Aw. [-á] < Sk. -áka-, as Vedic yuṣmáka, asmáka, etc.
uccá, high, **ṭhelá,** go-cart, **melá,** fair, **ká˜,** crow, < Sk. káka,
miṭṭhá, sweet, etc.

(4) Aw. [-á], < -ápa (causal suffix)
niklá, going out, exit, from **nikul**
bəcá, safety, from **bʌc**
etc.

(5) Aw. [-á] < -aníya, Pk. aṇaam
vʌṭṇá, unguent, < udvartaníyam
dhussá, blanket, < √dhus, P. S. M. of Pk. √dhas.

(6) Aw. [-á˜] < ánám (oblique used absolutely)
usá˜, to him, cf. Dhanoci **usʌn**
kává˜, to crows
ghoṛíá˜, to mares
etc.

(7) Aw. [-á˜] < -ámi, Apa. -áu (Pischel, p. 322)
kʌrá˜, I may do, < karámi
hʌssá˜, I may laugh, < hasámi
etc.

(8) Aw. [-í] < -iká, is the "most popular feminine suffix in NIA". Its extension is analogical to most of the forms —nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc.

vʌḍḍhí, bribe, < vṛddhi-
dátrí, sickle, < dátra-
dhunní, navel, < tuṇḍa-
siṇí˜, jute, H. sann-
sukkí, dry, < shuṣka-
go˜ṛí, dose, < guṭiká
kʌ˜ḍí, small scales, < kaṇṭiká
kunní˜, pot, < kuṇḍa-
kiráṛí, Hindu lady, < kiráta-

dupṛí, bread with two layers, < dvi-puṭaḥ

etc.

(9) Fem. [-í] is analogically used in the sense of diminution in—

bharí, load, < Sk. bháraḥ
pʌṭṭí, bandage, < Sk. paṭṭa
pátrí, a plate, < Sk. pátra.

(10) Aw. [-í] < -ika or Persian suffix [-i] as in **shaĩ^rí,** citizen
giráĩ~, villager, < gráma-
háṇí, of same age, < ardha- (near) ?
P. **áḍhí** (companion) and **áṛí**
gəváḍhí, neighbour, < gráma- upakaṇṭha-.

(11) Aw. [-í] < -íya
desí, country-made, < deshíya-
udhárí, on loan, < uddhára-.

The words like **so^ṇí,** beautiful (fem.), **cʌ~gí,** fine, **vá^í,** ploughing, may be due to the influence of both [-iká] or [-íya].

(12) [-í] < -in (as suggested by Chatterji, p. 671) is not possible. It is rather analogical extension in NIA, possibly from -íya. Examples—

háli, ploughman, < Sk. hala-
máli, gardener, < Sk. málá-
háṇí, of same age, < Sk. ardha-, near
shorí, noisy fellow, < Per. shor.

(13) Aw. [-í] < Apa -ahí~ (adverbial)
kʌdí, if, when
dhiáṛí, during day
ráti, at night.

(14) Aw. [-í] in **náí,** barber, etc., is not an extension but obtained as the result of contraction of vowels coming in contact from Sk. nápita-.

(15) Aw. [-í] in **ṭhʌggí,** cheating, **cʌ~giáí,** goodness, is adopted from the Persian form of abstract nouns, badí, nekí, etc.

(16) Aw. [-í] fem. pl. < Sk. íni, transferred.
dʌ^í~, curd, < Sk. dadhíni
mʌJhí~, buffaloes
gáí~, cows

etc.

(17) Aw. [-í] < Pk. [-iá], as in
kʌrí, having done, cf. Pk. karia
ghiddí, having taken, taking
ditti vʌ~J, go giving (this to him)
ṭurí á, come walking along.

(18) Aw. [-ú] in **mákhú,** honey, appears to be due to the influence of Apa. [-u]. It may be an innovation. Or, it may be due to contamination between mákṣika, and madhu, or it may be a case of preservation, as many words ending in [-ú] exist in the dialect. It may be analogical. Theoretically, however, it may be derived from dogmatic [-uka]. More examples—

kháú, eater
ḍʌrú, timid
páskú, balance, weight
olú, cistern
uḍáú, extravagant
vikáú, for sale
sirá~dú, pillow
unnú, pad under pitcher
bhʌṛthú, a pudding of brinjal
íshrú, O Ishar
pəhárú, livestock.

(19) Voc. [-ú] in proper names **íshrú, nihálú, lʌbbhú,** etc., is used abusively. It might have its origin in some Apabhramsha dialect. Compare also fem. [-o] used contemptuously. I doubt if [-ú] has simple relation with -uka. It has a significant sense in Aw. It may be the enclitic -hu from Apabhramsha.

(20) Aw. [-e] nom. pl. < Pk. -a (acc.) (Saksena, p. 133)

According to Chatterjee (pp. 723-24) it is the oblique -e extended, as in ghorahi, < ghoṭebhiḥ. Beams (vol. II, p. 235) thinks that this

-e is from pronominal adjective form of sarve.

Aw. **nʌḍḍhe,** boys, **ghoṛe,** horses, etc.

(21) Aw. [-e] oblique, < Sk. Gen. sing.

The stages of development may be illustrated thus—

Ghoṭakasya, ghoḍaassa, ghoḍaaha, ghoḍaa, ghoṛaya, **ghoṛe.**

Also note Apa. ghoḍayaha, ghoḍehu.

(22) Aw. [-e] < Pk. ae, Sk. -ake, (Jain p. 38).

ʌgge, in front
picche, behind
neṛe, near.

I, however, believe that it is an extension of the Sk. loc. -e. Compare Aw. **ghʌre,** in the house, **ʌkvále,** to Akwaal village. Most of the phonological equations are dogmatic and misleading.

(23) Aw. [-a] < Pk. ai, Sk. -ati

vaṭṭe, may earn, Pk. vaṭṭai, Sk. vartati
kʌre, may do, Pk. karai

and all such forms in subjunctive III person singular.

(24) Aw. [-e] < Pk. -chi, Sk. -edhi

kʌre, you may do
cʌre, you may graze
disse, you may be seen
(II person singular).

We thus find most of the verbal forms in Awankari going back to those in Apabhramsha. Compare—

Aw. **kʌrá̃,** I may do, Apa. karau̇
kʌre, he may do, < karai
kərá̃, we may do, < karahu
kʌre̊, you may do, < karahi
kʌro, you (pl.) may do, < karaha.
(Bloch, Indo-Aryan, p. 249).

(25) Aw. [-o] imp. < Apa. -aha, Pk. atha, OIA -ata

vʌ̃Jo, go **huro,** get down
sikho, learn **dʌbbo,** bury.

(26) Aw. [-o] in **rádho,** a name, **mʌthro,** a name, may be due to the erroneous use of vocative as nominative.

(27) Aw. Voc. [-o] < ancient Nom. Voc. plus enclitic, -ho

Játko, O boys **rádho,** O Radha
lʌkkho, O Lakshmi **kuṛío,** O girls.

[-o] is used as such with nouns of feminine gender in singular and nouns of masculine and feminine gender in plural.

(28) Aw. [-o̊] adverbial, < Sk. -am

mo^ro̊, first
muḍḍho̊, from the beginning
ghʌro̊, from the house
etc.

(29) Aw. [-ái] < Sk. ápika

It is used as a termination in abstract nouns.

kəmái, earning, < karmápika
kəsái, charges for fitting, < karṣati
sivái, charges for sewing
cirái, charges for sawing.

but in **miṭhái,** sweetmeat, which is from **miṭhá,** sweet, [-í] is apparently a feminine suffix. Note that [-í] above is added to causative forms.

ləṛái, quarrel
vəḍiái, greatness. Compare **vʌḍḍá,** great.
cə̃giái, goodness. Compare Aw. **cʌ̃gá,** good.

There may be Persian influence also as in **neki, bʌdi, ṭhʌgi,** etc.

(30) Aw. [-áú] < ápuka

It is in fact [-ú] added to verbs in transitive-causative form—**khá, umá, ḍərá,** etc.,

kháú, eater
umáú, oozing out
ḍəráú, about to frighten.

(31) Aw. [-ává] < -ápakaḥ

It is used to make agental nouns from verbs in transitive causative form

ḍərává, something to scare
khiḍává, one who makes a child play
ghʌrghəṭává, one who brings loss in the house
cəṛhává, present.

(32) Aw. [-úá] < ukaḥ+akaḥ, is a difficult suffix. It seems that double extension has taken place for semantic differentiation.
əṛúá, temporary structure
bhaṛúá, buffoon
ḍhúá, buttocks.

(33) Aw. [-t] or [-ṭ] < -tvam or -tra
Beams points out that in the majority of instances [-r-] goes out, leaving only the [t]. It is used to make abstract nouns as the following :—
Jhəlʌt, madness, from Aw. **Jhʌllá,** mad
vʌlgut, way, cf. P. val, way
Jhát, peep
Jhikáṭ, low place, Aw. **Jhikká,** low.

(34) The most productive suffix in Awankari appears to be [-t]. It was already a popular suffix in Sanskrit, as in capeṭá, karpaṭa-, vadhúṭí, etc. But this Sk. [-ṭ] was changed to [ḍ] in MIA. Aw. [-ṭ] has the same semantic significance as Sk. [-ṭ]. But its preservation is unexpected. Beams (vol. II, pp. 121-22) is worried about the history of this suffix. He gives [-ṭ] suffix even in Pashto, as largoṭai "a small stick", but largai, "stick", and adds: "the existence of this form in Pashto is a confirmation of its antiquity and justifies my attributing it to the early tadbhava period." This remark opens up new vistas in the history of this suffix. If very ancient and not available in OIA definitely, possibly it may be from a substratum from which Aryan and Iranian have borrowed commonly. Or it has been borrowed from Pashto. But the simultaneous existence of [-ṭ], [ḍ], [ṛ], [-r] and [-l] as diminutive suffixes suggests a chronological order of the development of this all-Indian suffix.

Platts in his Hindustani Dictionary traces all such suffixes to Sk. -vaṭa. Beams erroneously traces [-ḍ] back to Sk. [-ṛ] (p. 116). It is clearly [-ṭ] which exists at various stages of its modification. The following examples will explain the fact—

(35) Aw. [-ṭ]
sərúṭ, reeds, < Sk. shara-
gəbhroṭ, young boy, < Sk. garbharılpa-
bhəvá˜ṭ, wanderer, vagabond, < Sk. bhramati
núṭ, shʊt, < Sk. √nu.

(36) Aw. [-ṭá]=[-ṭ-] + masculine [-á]
bəkroṭá, a small goat, < barkara-
bəroṭá, a young tree, < badara-
kəlhoṭá, a small granary, < kalasha-
ḍoṭá, double, < dvau-.

(37) Aw. [-ṭí]
On page 121 (vol. II) Beams points out that "additional emphasis is given to the idea of smallness by the use of the feminine termination [-í]". This valuable remark explains the origin of many conglamorated suffixes. In the course of time the original meaning of a suffix is lost, as it is perceived to be a part of the word itself, and so there rises the need of innovating other suffixes. Note in this article how the dialect has been extending words by such innovations.
Here, of course, [-í] may be the feminine [-í] as there is masculine [-á] in the words listed above.

(38) Aw. [-ḍ]

háḍ, hope	Cf. Sk. áshá, from which merely á was expected in Awankari. Extension is made for distinction
mukhʌḍ, mouth-gag	
cəheḍ, teasing words	Cf. H. cirh.

(39) Aw. [-ḍá] < Pk. aḍao (showing deformity)
ghiḍḍá, crooked legged, < √ghṛ-

According to Beams (pp. 116ff) "the commonest type of the diminutive is that which has for its characteristic the letter -ḍ-, copiously illustrated in Sindhi and Marathi". Awankari form appears to be the older stage.

(40) Aw. [-ḍá] in

maĩ^ḍá, mine **taĩ^ḍá**, yours

is obscure. But it is certainly an older form of H., P. merá, terá, although the intervening link is missing.

(41) Aw. [-ṛ] is the next stage to the popular Guj., Mar. [-ḍ].

chekuṛ, end

pichokuṛ, back part of a house.

The last two words contain double suffixes. Differentiation, sometimes, requires more than one extensional sound, as noted above.

kuchuṛ, lap, < Pk. kucchi, Sk. kukṣiḥ

pʌkhuṛ, mountain-side, < Pa. Pk. pakkha, Sk. pakṣa-

vãũ^ṛ, bull-calf, < Sk. vahaḥ, shoulder of an ox.

(42) Also note [-ṛ] extension applied to Awankari words themselves. [-ṛ] in the following words is not quite old.

síṛ, sew, also **sí**, (doublets)

uṭhuṛ, rise, also **uṭh**, (doublets)

giṭáṛ, stony place, cf. Aw. **giṭá**, pebble

həváṛ, steam, cf. **həvá**, wind.

(43) The vowel before [-ṛ] in the following words is an additional infix, the exact significance of which is obscure.

phuṭáṛ, crack, < Sk. √sphuṭ-

pighiáṛ, wolf, < Sk. vyághra-

khəkháṛ, lower jaw, < Aw. khákh, cheek.

(44) Aw. [-ṛá] is a common double suffix showing diminution and masculine gender.

buḍhṛá, oldish, cf. Aw. **buḍḍhá**

cʌmṛá, skin, cf. **cʌm**

nikṛá, younger, cf. **nikká**

trʌkṛá, strong, < Sk. tark-

bʌcṛá, child, cf. Aw. **bʌccá**

khosṛá, torn shoe, from Aw. **khus**, to be torn

dhoṛá, hedge, < Sk. dhapayati.

In **puháṛá**, heap of straw, < Sk. busaváṭakaḥ, [-ṛá] apparently is not a suffix.

(45) In the following, [-ṛá] is analogically affixed to make the word distinct.

sãũṛá, narrow, < Sk. √sakuc

thoṛá, little, < Sk. stoka-.

(46) Aw. [-ṛí] is the feminine correspondent of the above.

tákṛí, window, < Per. táq, door

pãĩṛí, leg, rope, < Sk. páda-

khʌlṛí, skin, cf. Aw. **khʌl**, hide

Játəkṛí, girl, also Aw. **Játki**

trʌkṛí, scales, < Sk. tarku-.

The forms like **pikãũṛá**, **pikãũṛí**, **ədhãũṛí**, suggest that [-ṛí] is from -vaṭí.

(47) [-í] in **áJṛí**, shepherd, < Aw. **ʌJJuṛ**, flock. cf. **ajá**, goat, is from Masc. form -in, or -íya.

(48) Aw. [-r].

Beams (vol. II page 92) points out that Sindhi changes the [-l] of -álu, to [-r] as in "dhaṇáru". Even in Hindi, Sk. [-l] has become [-r]—Beams p. 94.

In my opinion it is the same old [-ṭ] or Pk. [ḍ] or innovational [ṭ] which has been assuming various chronological forms.

cho^r, boy, cf. H. chokṛá

phʌníər, cobra, < Sk. phaṇí-

ṭukur, bread, cf. H. ṭukṛá

ḍávur, spider, < Sk. dáma-, rope.

(49) Aw. [-r].

khilur, be scattered **khilár**, scatter

uḍur, fly (intr.) **uḍár**, fly.

These verbal extensions without effecting any semantic change in the original word are unique. Generally, phonetic extension is necessitated by semantic differentiation.

(50) In some cases Aw. [-rá] may be from Sk. -rakaḥ, as in **suthrá**, (Aw. **surʌtthá**, by metathesis) from Sk. susthirakaḥ.

pʌdhrá, plain, < Sk. paddhati, Deshi paddhara

kothr á dirty, formed on the analogy of **suthrá**

gʌthrá, muddy, < Per. gandah
vʌkhrá, separate, < Sk. vakṣas
sʌJrá, fresh, < Sk. sadya-.

(51) The sense of diminution is conveyed by **[-rá]** in the following words. This **[-rá]** definitely belongs to the old family of **[-ṭ]**.

kətúrá, puppy, cf. **kuttá,**
cəṭúrá, a pitcher, glutton, cf. **cʌṭṭú,**
bəṭerá, quail, < Sk. √vartaka-
liárá, milching animal, < Sk. √lih
vərtárá, custom, cf. H. bartáv.

(52) Aw. **[-rí]** in fem. sense.

dʌ̃drí, border, cf. Sk. danta-
ʌ̃ḍúrí, round ball of anything, < Sk. aṇḍa-
khə̃ḍúrí, ball, < Sk. kanduka-
ḍə̃górí, a small stick, < Sk. daṁsha-.

(53) Aw. **[-re]** in **ʊgere,** further, **urere,** nearer, has of course nothing to do with the historical [-ṭ]. It is from OIA. -tara and loc. -e.

(54) In **Juáríá,** gambler, the suffixes -kárin and -káraka, appear to have worked together.

(55) Aw. **[-l]**.

(a)

-lá, or **-lí,** is a productive suffix found in many modern languages. In adjectival forms it is, indeed, from Sk. -ála, or -álu, as in Sk. vácála, dayálu-, etc. See No. (c) below. It may be an innovation in (a) and (b).

(b)

dhənel, coriander, cf. Sk. dhányam
pəsel, side beam, cf. Sk. párshva-.

(c)

ḍərákul, timid, from Aw. **ḍʌr**
shərmákul, shy, cf. Aw. **shʌrum,**
tiriákul, third party, cf. Aw. **tríá.**

(56) Regarding **kʌ̃ṛíl,** full of anger
Compare Beams (p. 95) who derives such forms from Sk. -ila, Pk. -illa, as in H. ghasíla, grassy. This suffix, he says, "is a favourite in Hindi and Punjabi, though less frequent in other languages."
mʌríʌl, dead-like, appears to be a loan from Hindi. We expected **mərílʌ.**

(57) Aw. **[-lá]** may be from Sk. -ala- but its semantic relationship is obscure. In Awankari, it is used to make nouns in apposition.

vəholá, mattock, < Sk. váshí (adze)
tílá, straw, < Sk. tṛṇa-
pəṭo^lá, toy-cloth, < Sk. paṭṭa
rʌ̃ulá, noise, < Sk. rava
Jʌulá, small virmicelli, < Sk. yava-.

(58) Aw. **[-lá]** < Sk. -la as in pítala + masc.-akaḥ
On the analogy of **pílá,** yellow, **mʌ̃ilá,** dirty, are formed.—

vickárlá, middle one, cf. Aw. **vic,** in
párlá, the one across, < Sk. páram
nəveklá, separate, < Sk. na-eka-
pʌrlá, the farther one, < Sk. para-
leslá, pasty, cf. Aw. **les,** paste
dʌ̃dlá, having big teeth, < Sk. danta-
hikʌ^llá, alone, < Sk. ekalya-
sukhʌllá, convenient, < Sk. sukha-
gheslá, lazy, (Onom.)

also

ʌglá, next, < Sk. agra-
pichlá, last, < Sk. pashca-
rʌ̃glá, coloured, < Sk. raṅga-.

(59) Aw. **[-lí]** is the feminine correspondent of **[-lá]**.
Examples—

ghəṛolí, small pitcher, < Sk. ghaṭaḥ
kədholí, a small wall, < Sk. skandha-
kʌḍhlí, neck strap, < Sk. kaṇṭha-
urlí, one on this side, < Sk. avara-.

(60) Aw. **[-ál]** < Sk. -ála, "possessing", "pertaining to"

titrál, a place name, from **tittur,** partridge
muthrál, a place name, from **mʌthrá,** name of a person.

It is extended even to Persian loan words in Awankari, e.g., **shərmálú,** shy.

The glide before [-ál] in the following words is a further extension—

dudiál, a place name, from **dudh,** milk
buḍhiál, a place name, from **buḍḍhá,** old
miál, a place name, from **miá˜,** scholar.

(61) [-vál] is usually derived from Sk. -pála, but in the following group it is closely allied to the [-ál] above. [v] is another glide introduced before [-ál].

mələkvál, a place name, from "Malik"
bhəJvál, partner, PI. bhajyate, is devided
cəkvál, a place name
divál, giver.

(62) Aw. infinitive termination [-uṇ] < -anam, as in gamanam, etc. [-u-] of course is from Apabhraṁsha.

vʌ˜Juṇ, to go	**khávuṇ,** to eat
devuṇ, to give	**pívuṇ,** to drink
ghinnuṇ, to take	etc.

(63) [-ṇ] is also used in nominal extension. It is the same Sk. -anam as in dánam, etc.,

kucuṇ, brush, < Sk. kúrca-
nəheruṇ, nail cutter, < Sk. nakha-hara-
prúṇ, sieve
pəlethuṇ, flour, < Sk. paryasta-
dávuṇ, picket rope, < Sk. dáma-
dʌ˜duṇ, closing of jaws, < Sk. danta-.

(64) The feminine suffix [-ṇ], in the words below, is from OIA -ni, -áni—

kəsai˜ṇ, butcher's wife, < Per. qaṣái
sai˜ṇ, mistress, < sváminí
máluṇ, gardener's wife, < málini
musʌlluṇ, sweeper's wife.

(65) Aw. [-uṇ] < -punaḥ in

kʌdduṇ, when, < Sk. kadá-punaḥ
tíkuṇ, upto etc.

(66) Aw. [-ṇá] is the same OIA -anam, further extended by the masculine suffix.

velṇá, ginning machine
kuḍhṇá, poker, P. S. M. **kʌḍhṇá,** taking out
roṇá, of weeping nature.

(67) The gerundial [-ṇá], is also the same.

deṇá, giving	**roṇá,** weeping
kháváṇá, eating	**mʌ˜gṇá,** asking

etc.

(68) [-árá] in the following words is different. It might be from OIA -ánaka, as in Sk. kathánaka-.

muháṇá, boatsman, < mukha-
dhi˜gáṇá, forced, cf. **dhi˜gí,** by force
also compare **dhikká,** onom.
cərokṇá, for long, contains a number of suffixes [-k]- [-uṇ] + mas. -á, cf. **cir, cərok, cəroká, cərokuṇ, cərokṇá, cərokṇí**—all cases of P. S. M.

(69) [-ṇí], [-áṇí] are feminine correspondents of [-ṇá], [-áṇá].

According to Kakti (pp. 262-3) and Chatterjee §. 445, the NIA feminine suffixes -ní, -áni, -ini, are not derived from OIA -ní, -áni. They are only reminiscent generalisations of OIA -ní, áni.

I think in some cases it is -anam, + fem. -i ; in some cases it is -ániká, and in others it is generalized -ní, áni, ini, inherited from late MIA. Examples—

(1)

kəcúṇí, hair about ears, < Sk. kaca-, hair
chúṇí, lid, < IE. sque-
bú^ṇí, handsell, cf. Aw. **baṇ^,** sit.

(2)

mədháṇí, churning stick, < manthániká
rəcháṇí, a case for tools, < rakṣániká
məsváṇí, inkpot, cf. Sk. masi- (ink).

(3)

mishráṇí, Brahman's wife, < Masc. **mishur**
niháṇí, barber's wife, < Masc. **náí**
diráṇí, husband's younger brother's wife, < Masc. **der**
guriáṇí, Guru's wife, < Masc. **gurú**
Jiṭháṇí, husband's elder brother's wife, < Masc. **Jeṭh**
bhiáṇí, Bhai's wife, < Masc, **bháí**
sə̃váṇí, wife, may be from Sk. su-vanitá-, or swáminí.

(70) **[-k]**

Chatterjee (p. 680) thinks that [-k] in MIA is from OIA. kṛta, or it is PI. -aka, first introduced as tsm. Compare Sk. Jálaka, a netlet, and bálaka, boy.

Aw. **chek**, hole, < Sk. cheda-
Játuk, boy, < Sk. janaḥ
kʌ̃Juk, girl, < Sk. kanyá
chiruk, foot path
kiruk, sand, < Sk. kirati
giṭuk, fruit stone, < Sk. guṭiká
ḍholuk, a small drum, cf. Aw. **ḍhol.**

I, however, believe that [-k] is a new suffix in NIA. Its coincidence with OIA -k is accidental. Note :—

bāiṭhuk, a sitting room, from **bāiṭh**
ʌ̃ṛuk, rankling, cf. **ʌṛ**
ʌṭuk, stop, cf. Sk. √aṭṭ.

(71) Aw. **[-k]** is onomatopoeic extension in the following words—

khisuk, slip away
ciluk, shine
khuruk, itch
lʌmuk, be prolonged.

On page 885, Chatterji gives a list of suffixes (like k. t, etc.) which build secondary roots in Bengali. Awankari innovations appear to be large in number. A comparative study of suffixes in NIA languages is a great desideratum.

(72) Aw. **[-k]** is quite a productive suffix used to convey a variety of forms and meanings.

oṛuk, at last.

(73) In the following words it is analogical to the onomatopoeic **[-k]**.

thʌk, tired, < Sk. √sthá-
chek, hole, < Sk. cheda-

(74) Aw. **[-k]** < Aw. **hik**, Sk. eka becoming enclitic.

rʌttík, a little, cf. H. ratti bhar
zʌrək, just a little, cf. H. zará bhar
vədhík, more
cárik, about four

Cf. **cir**, and **ciruk**, delay.

(75) Aw. **[-s]** < Pk. -se, "his" (enclitic)

Játius, he thought about him
ákhius, he said to him.

Compare Chatterji : Bengali, page 980.

(76) In Aw. **[-ká]**, the same **[-k]** has been further extended by masculine **[-á]**. **[-ká[** may be derived from MI. **[-kká]**. Bloch derives it from OIA kya- < -akíya-, as in parakíya, etc. (Mar. p. 105). Examples—

pʌṭká, a small turban
cícká, a small cake of soap
lʌ̃ʌ̃ká, light
ṭoṭká, a tit bit, cf. Aw. **ṭoṭá**, piece
hoká, proclamation
luʌ̃ṛká, ear-drop.

(77) The adjectival **[-ká]** is another extension of the same **[-k]**. It is, no doubt, a NIA invention. Examples—

ʌJoká, today's
kəlhoká, yesterday's
pəroká, last year's
cəroká, since long
ətroká, since day before yesterday
ghəroká, of the house
peká, of the parents
nánká, dádká, of the grandfather.

(78) [-ká] is unique in—
ləṛáká, quarrelsome
vəláká, coil
bhiṛáká, fighter.

(79) [-k] in the following words can either be traced back to MIA -kk- < OIA -k-, or it is analogical.
sʌkká, real (relative), cf. Skt. sakhá, svakíya-
Jʌṭká, pertaining to a Jat
ucʌkká, rogue
Jhikká, low, cf. Skt. adhyak-
nikká, small, cf. OIA. nyak-.

(80) Aw. [-kí] is the fem. correspondent of [-ká]. Examples—
duṛkí, trot
ḍʌ̃ḍkí, a stick
phirkí, shuttle.

(81) Aw. [-etá], [-ete], as in—
dhete, party of the bride, from Aw. **dhí,** daughter
putrete, party of the bride-groom, from Aw. **puttur,** son.
In the opinion of Beams (Vol. II, p. 103) the suffix is traceable to Skt. -ita, used to form secondary nouns.

(82) Aw. [-c] and [-J] < Skt. -tya
Beams was unable to find this suffix in any language but Sindhi and Marathi (Vol. II., p. 110).
ucec, something special, cf. Aw. **uccá**
ḍhanocí, language of Dhan (Chakwal)
nə̃geJ, naked part, cf. Aw. **nʌ̃gá**
pəkeJ, ripeness, confirmity, cf. Aw. **pakká**
surheJ, parents-in-law's house, cf. Aw. **sɯ̃ˆrá.**

(83) [-p] < Skt. -tva
suˆṇʌp, beauty, cf. Aw. **soˆṇá,** < shobhana-
siáṇəp, wisdom, cf. Aw. **siáṇá,** < sajn̆ánaka-
Jhəlʌp, madness (doublet of **Jhəlʌt,**—shows mixture of dialects).

(84) [-puṇ] < Vedic. -tvanam
lucpuṇá, mischief, from **luccá**
bhāīṛpuṇá, badness, from **bhāīṛá**
shodhpuṇá, helplessness, from **shodhá**
rə̃ḍepá, widowhood, contains [-p] further extended for distinction.

(85) [-bá] in the following words is, most probably, vocalized [-pá]—
vəsebá, living standard
həḍebá, treatment with others.

(86) [-t] < Skt. -tva, is a doublet form of [-p],
Jhəlʌt, madness, from **Jhʌllá**
lɯˆkiʌt, lightness, meaness, from **lɯˆká**

(87) [-tuṇ] < Vedic -tvanam, is a doublet form of **-puṇ,** as in **pilattuṇ,** yellowness, from **pílá.**

(88) Aw. [-gá] appears to be fragment of some noun (anga-?) now serving as a suffix.
bhāī̃gá, squint-eyed, < -apáṅgaḥ
legá, parasitical
chiggá, having six teeth
cɯ̃gá, having four teeth.

(89) [-gí] is the feminine correspondent of [-gá]
vʌngí, variety, cf. Sk. varṇaḥ
legí, greedy.

(90) [-ú̃gá] again, is a fragment of some noun.
səplú̃gá, a small snake
bilú̃gṛá, kitten has a double suffix [-ú̃gá] + [-ṛá].

(91) Attributive [-vá̃] appears to be an innovation in Awankari. Examples—
tolvá̃, weighed
ghárṛvá̃, that can be mended
Joṛvá̃, joined
ucává̃, that can be raised

VI

gáḍhvã, that has been repaired.

(92) Aw. [-tá] is from Sk. P. P. [-átá], Pk. -áttá, or it may be an extension of the [-t] suffix of abstract nouns, like **Jhəlat, lɯ̃kiat,** etc. Examples—

pəsittá, on one side
chittá, peevish
mʌ̃gtá, beggar.

(93) Aw. [-tá] has been cerebralized in—

curʌṭṭá, of a stealing nature
kərʌṭṭá, botheration.

(94) The terminations in the following forms seem to be parts of some compounded words now lost by syncopation. The words have become utterly unrecognizable.

thobá, mud-patch, cf. Sk. √sthá-
dḥirkháṇú̃, fruit of bakayan tree, cf. Aw. **dhrek**
muklává, permission to have household, cf. Sk. mukta- Aw. **muk**, relieved
tərkírá, something polluted, < Aw. **trʌk**
viJí̃duṛ, bride or bridegroom -elect, < Aw. **viJá̃**, marriage
sikhʌ̃duṛ, apprentice, < Aw. **sikh**, learn
ghí̃d, one likely to accept, < Aw. **ghin**, take
suṇí̃d, one ready to listen, < Aw. **suṇ**.

VII

ONOMATOPOETIC FORMATIONS

VII

ONOMATOPOETIC FORMATIONS

1. Onomatopoeas.
2. Echo-words.
3. Intensive words.
4. Nursery Words.
5. Sound Symbolism.

VII. 1. Onomatopoeas

Awankari is extremely rich in onomatopoetic words. In the opinion of Dr. Chatterjee (p. 371) "most onomatopoetic forms go back to MIA", which, I think, is a sweeping generalization. No doubt, MIA contains these words on a lavish scale, but it would be dangerous to attempt to seek 'historical development' in such formations. Dr. Jain also (§. 180) thinks that there is some connection between Vedic, Sanskrit and Punjabi onomatopoeas. I believe that they are independent of time and space, that they have no history and that they may be found even in non-IA languages and in all countries. Dr. Chatterjee may find Kol influence in the formation of Bengali onomatopoeas (p. 175), and I may trace Iranian or Dardic effect and some-one else might connect them with African sounds; but the fact is that they are universal and spontaneous.

VII

There are no hard and fast rules regarding the incidence of onomatopoeic forms in Awankari. Most of the words, however, end in [-k] or are extensions from [-k] forms. Compare—

ṭhuk, be beaten, **ṭhok,** strike, **ṭhãũ˜ká,** a nap, **ṭhú˜gá,** stroke on scales
dhəbúk, wasp, **dhəbúṛí,** wasp
bhʌbuk, roar, **bhʌbká,** kettle-drum
məruk, sound under teeth, **murukṇá,** well fried
bhãũ˜k, bark, **bhãũ˜ká,** noisy
ḍusuk, sob, **ḍəskore,** sobs
hokuṇ, proclaim, **hoká,** proclamation, **hokərná,** call
bhák, bleat, **bok,** cry aloud
bu^ṛuk, grunt, **bʌ^ṛuk,** boil
dhik, push, **dhrʌk,** sudden jump, **dhrík,** drag
ṭhʌk, prepare a bridegroom, **ṭhəkor,** strike, **thiruk,** slip
tʌṛuk, fry, **tʌṛká,** frying butter
dhʌmuk, jolt, **dhəmká,** terrify
chʌṇuk, jingle, **chiṇuk,** sprinkle
ghúk, sound asleep, **ghukár,** roaring noise
cík, scream, **kúk,** shrill
kəṛʌkṇí, scorching heat, **kʌluk,** burnt, **kʌṛuk,** break, **khʌṛuk,** wide awake
Jhʌk, be frightened, **Jhʌmuk,** wink
ṭʌk, cut, **ṭuk,** bite(v), **ṭʌkkur,** collision
tiluk, slip, **tilkuṇ,** slippery ground
ḍʌk, shut, **ḍikár,** a belch, **ḍik,** bump
phʌk, chuck in, **phʌkká,** mouthful, **phʌkkí,** powder, **phúk,** blow of wind, **phoká,** hollow, **phikká,** tasteless
bok, chatter, **boká,** bucket, inkpot
suṇuk, blow nose, **suruk,** sip
ghʌṛuk, beating of heart, **ghurkuṇ,** a toy, **gʌ^ṛuk,** rumble
giṭkár, sound of breaking fingers
buṛák, phlegmatic substance
cuṭkí, pinch
duṛkí, trot
bhúkṇe˜, gushes
guṭuk, giggling
hiḍkí, hiccough
lishuk, flash
hik, drive cattle
thuk, spit
khuruk, itch
khisuk, slipaway
riṛuk, churn
lʌk, lick
kusuk, grumble
huckú, jolt
hʌuk, sigh heavily
kãũ˜k, partridge
kiruk, sand
lãũ˜k, throb
shúk, hiss
miák, bleat

1.

hiṇuk, bray **phʌṛuk,** flutter etc., etc.

Another characteristic of these forms is that they favour aspirated letters which convey definite sounds and motions. Compare—

ghuggú, owl **ghugrú,** bell
ghá˜gá, a bee **ḍhoḍhur,** wild crow
ḍhəḍorá, proclamation by drum **ḍʌph,** tabor, drink water
dhəmál, a dance **dhəbúk,** wasp
bhəbhuṇ, an insect **bhukáṇá,** balloon
duthrú, choking by drink **uthrú,** choking by water in windpipe

bhãũ˜ká, noisy **dhure,** fie **JhʌJhá,** falterer
ḍhaĩ^, fall **bhák,** bleat **buṛuk,** bawl
ghu^ggí, dove **bhʌṛ bhʌṛ,** burning intermittently
phis, be crushed **dhul,** throw out **dhukh,** smoke
nich, sneeze **dhik,** push **dhraĩ^,** collapse
thiṛ, be removed **ṭhʌk,** clatter (v) **ṭhəkor,** clatter
jhik, low (v) **cháṇ,** sieve (v) **khəghál,** cleanse
kha^g, cough **cʌgh,** grin **Jhʌm,** shower (n)
Jhammuṇ, beat **Jhʌb,** clean (v) **Jhukh,** desire more
Jhakkhuṛ, storm **ṭhil,** get along **phʌddá,** teethless
thobá, patch of mud **dhrʌ˜gá,** dead body **huph,** closed air
thatthá, stammerer **Jhá˜Jrá˜,** anklets **khəghár,** phlegm
khərkhʌg, whooping cough **bhãũr,** bee **ḍha^n,** pond
ḍhéḍhí, bon-fire **pəṛʌcchá,** water-fall **phosí,** dung
kharkhrá, curry-comb **dhrʌphuṛ,** prickly heat etc., etc.

Generally, however, I should say that almost all consonants may begin or end an onomatopoeic word. Examples—

ká˜, crow **kú˜J,** water-fowl
kríc, sand in food **kʌlkʌl,** quarrel, contaminated with Skt. kalaha-
kʌṇí˜, drop of rain **kãũ˜k,** partridge
kutkutáṛí, tickling **kurkṭú,** pebbles in cooked pulse
kukkuṛ, cock **kurlá,** cry, cf. Sk. kurari, bird
kúrká, pup **kú˜grá,** pup
kiruk, sand **ki^l,** use force, especially when easing oneself
kʌllá, half dumb **gu˜gá,** dumb

guṭuk, giggle
guṛguṛ, sound of a smoking pipe
guṛguṛí, smoking pipe
guttuṇ, ducking
gʌ^ṛuk, rumble
hi^g, bray
ghuṭ, to strangle
ghul, to low
cúce, chicken
cuṭkí, pinch
cuátí, burning wood
cík, scream
cír, crack
cʌb, chew
cúp, suck
cur, have motion
cicuṛ, parasite
cúrá, powder
cá^Já, clever
cʌ^ḍ, slap
chik, to pull
chʌp, to hide
Jhʌl, foolishness
Jul, to move
ṭuk, cut
ṭəṭí^rí, a bird, Skt. ṭiṭibhaḥ
ṭip, finish account
ṭiṭá^ṇá, cicada
ṭhʌp, to fold
ṭhok, to beat
ḍobá, diver
ḍʌ^mṇí, stick for washing clothes
ḍe^mú^, black wasp
ḍʌṭṭá, cork ; cf. Aw. **ḍʌṭ**, stiffen
ḍikár, belch
buḍ, drown
táṛ, have an eye
tʌṛká, frying
tiṛ, stutter
tutlá, prattle
tráṛá, burning of fresh grain
tráṭ, head-ache
trʌp, jump ; cf. Sk. √ talp-
trú^, to give still-birth ; cf. Aw. **trāí^**, be terrified
túṭṇí, a pipe ; cf. Per. **tuti**, a bird
trum, snatch
trim, drip
duthrú, choking in the wind-pipe
nich, sneeze
ḍhʌ^n, pond
pəṭáká, cracker
pupul, eat with gums only
pəpí^á, a bird
pípṇí, a pipe
pi^J, card (v)
pípá, canister
pʌd, break wind
bá^g, call to prayers
botná, young donkey
buṛ-buṛ, bubble
boká, inkpot, bucket
bibrí, potsherd
bi^ḍá, cicada
bhāu^k, to bark
mʌc, kindle
miákṇá, mew
midh, crush
memṇá, humble
ri^ṛ, to roll
rāulá, noise
le^, suck milk
lʌk, lick
lāu^k, throb

və^gárná, challenge
shúk, hiss
sí, cold
síṭí, whistle
happá, kiss
hiḍkí, hiccough
his, be extinguished
hʌs, laugh
hu^gár, shout
hú^g, grunt
huph, close
hucká, jolt
hál-hál, outcry.

VII. 2. Echo-Words

In echo-words the sense of *et cetra* is implied. They are formed in many ways. The simplest and commonest form is that in which initial consonant of the original word is replaced by [sh-]. [sh-], of course, can be used to form an echo of any noun in Awankari.

Examples—

páṇí sháṇí, water, etc.
roṭí shoṭí, bread, etc.
dál shál, pulse, etc.
koṭhá shoṭhá, room, etc.
ná^, shá^, name, etc.
hʌṭṭí shʌṭṭí, shop, etc.
rá^ shá^, way, etc.
vá shá, wind etc.
ká^ shá^, crow, etc.
etc., etc.

Another common phenomenon is the interchanging of vowels in the two words. Short vowels are usually echoed by short ones and long vowels to long ones. As a rule any other vowel than [ʌ] or [á], in the original word is echoed by [ʌ] or [á], as the case may be. [ʌ] is changed to [u] and [á] to [ú].

Examples—

búth báth, face, etc. (features)
cheṛ cháṛ, teasing, etc.
rú^ṛ rá^ṛ, play, etc. (enjoyment)
hoṛ háṛ, forbid, etc.
chil chʌl, skin (v), etc.
chik chʌk, contract (v), etc.
mʌr mur, die
báṭí búṭí, bucket, etc.
ʌruk uruk, distilled water, etc.
bʌghṇá bughṇá, rope, etc.
khol khál, open, etc.
páṇí púṇí, water, etc.

roṭí ráṭí, bread, etc.
pú˜g pá˜g, young ones
etc., etc.

More advanced and cultured are the synonymous or almost similar words used to form echoes. They are, in fact, compound words and are not quite meaningless as the echoes.
Examples—

thʌṛá pəláṇá, harness (rug and saddle)
cullí krúlí, ablution (mouth cleaning, etc.)
ṭhm pʌttá, address (place and knowledge)
kuṛí ciṛí, woman-folk (ladies and birds)
dál cʌul, eatables (pulse and rice)
ʌ˜J bá^˜, (limb and arm)
puch pərtít, enquiry (ask and settle). The word **pərtít** is now obsolete
ḍʌ˜gur vʌcchá, cattle, etc. (cattle and calf)
billí kuttá, animals (cat and dog)
lʌttá mʌttá, goods (**lʌttá,** is obsolete)
ḍerá ḍʌggá, concerns (house and ?)
chʌllí páṇí, small concerns (cotton yarn and ear)
diṇ vár, festival (day and day)
ḍíl ḍʌul, welfare (form and character)
ḍhí˜g mushále, long torches (poles and torches)
giṭá vʌṭṭá, pebbles, etc. (pebble and stone)
ghá^ pʌṭṭhá, fodder (grass and fresh crop)
ləṛái bhiṛái, quarrel (quarrel and bickering)
dhikká mukká, fight (push and blow)
rʌulá gʌulá, noise (noise and ?)
ná˜ pʌccá, address (name and address, **pʌttá**)
máṇ bhár, honour (respect and heaviness)
ḍhʌggí ḍhorí, cattle (P. ḍhʌggi and H. ḍhor)
Neither of the words exists singly in Awankari.
hál cál, account (account and gait)
ʌJ de^á˜, these days (today and to-morrow)
luccá ləvʌnná˜, a man of loose character (Dera. **livʌnná,** stupid)
kʌpṛá lʌttá, clothes (cloth and ?)
mál mʌttá, property (goods and wealth)
kágut pʌttur, stationary (paper and paper)

mú^˜ muláJhá, regard (face and examination)
dhum dhəṛʌs, pomp and show (onomatopoeic)
ḍhi˜gur dhoṛe, hedges (thorns and thorns)
cíz vʌsut, purchases (things and things)—a hybrid
miṭṭi gʌṭṭá, dust (earth and P. ghaṭṭá, dust)
kʌkh káná˜, roof (straw and reeds)
hál pá^riá, out-cry
dhúṛ dhʌppá, dust (dust and ?)
rʌch ká^n, instruments, etc. (tool and ?)
hú˜ há˜, yes or no (yes, yes)
hissá bʌxrá, portion (portion and portion)
hukká páṇí, sociability (smoking pipe and water)
Já Jəgír, property (place and estate)
gəvádh mʌtthá, neighbourhood (neighbourhood and forehead. The second word is, of course, useless.)
ḍʌr Jhákí, fear (fear and hesitation)
kúṇ kʌssur, deficiency, etc., the word **kúṇ,** meaning crookedness
xár xu˜duk, jealousy (jealousy and ?)
Játuk potuk, children (child and grandson)
The word **potuk** does not exist isolated.
lāiṇ kətár, line (line and line)
vʌrtuṇ vəlevá, goods (utensils and goods)
ṭāi^l ṭəkor, service (service and fomentation)
dáṇá phʌkká, corn (corn and eatable)
sʌudá suluf, purchases
usur kusur, senses. The origin of the words is obscure. Cf. Per, ausán, senses.
kʌm kár, work (work and work)
ḍhok ḍhʌlle, houses (hamlet and ?).

The fourth group consists of echo-words in which the idea of alliteration and assonance is predominent. The echo-word is, again, meaningless singly.
Examples—

razí bazí, hale and healthy
puch guch, enquiry, etc.
ídde áde, this way and that
nik shuk, all things (small things, etc.)

kʌɳ maɳ, rain (drop, etc.)
chekaɽ bákaɽ, remainder (end, etc.)
Jʌɳá khaɳá, every man
rʌn kʌn, woman, etc.
neɽe treɽe (-r- being intrusive), nearby.

Sometimes the echo occurs before the meaningful word, as in—

əvá̤dh gəvá̤dh, neighbourhood, etc.
áse páse, all about (sides, etc.)
ár pár, across (otherside, etc.)
á^mɳe sá^mɳe, face to face (front, etc).
á^r sá^r, balance (equality, etc.)
Cf. Aw. **hiksá^rá,** even.

In a number of cases the antonyms are used, as in

sukhá sūkhá, in some way (easily or otherwise)
kʌc pʌk, undecided (rawness and firmness)
uccá Jhikká, uneven (high and low).

VII. 3. Intensive Words

Intensive forms are made generally by repeating the first word with a connective [m-], [mu-] or [p-], [pu-], which may sometimes replace the initial consonant of the former word. Examples—

hikʌ^llá mukʌ^llá, all alone
həner muner, pitch dark
khul məkhul, perfect freedom
hikká mikká, united
ghʌɽí muɽí, again and again
nʌ̃g munʌ̃gá, stark naked
tetrá metrá, spotted
ʌrú mʌrú, necessarily
ə̃ɖúrí mə̃ɖúrí, round like a ball
sʌccí muccí, very truly, **muccí,** is extended to **kúɽí** in **kúɽí muccí,** falsely
chaɽá muɽá, all alone
ghúc múc, undecipherable writing
hʌcchá puccha, very clean
rís pərísi, imitatingly
ukká pukká, at all

vʌn pəvʌnná, of various kind
rʌs pʌs, accustomed.

Some words are intensified simply by repetition, as—

bhʌJná bhʌJná, running
kərenią̃ kərenią̃, doing
trikkhí trikkhí, hastily
cʌ̃gá cʌ̃gá, good.

Repeated words are sometimes connected by [-o-].

Examples—

vʌkh-o-vʌkh, separately **nʌkk-o-nʌk,** full to brim
ʌɖɖ-o-ʌɖ, separately **ʌ̃J-o-ʌ̃J,** limb by limb
ʌddh-o-vʌdh, half and half (**v-** is liaison).

Some echo-words form intensives when used adverbially or adjectively, as

chaɽá chá̃ɖ, all alone
mú^̃ dhián, to one's self
etc.

Synonymous words are regularly used to form intensives.

Examples—

rukkhá sukká, all dry
ṭhʌ^ɖá ṭhok, quiet
phaṭṭá guɖɖá, much wounded
dhĩ̃gí zorí, forcibly
dʌbbá sʌṭ, quickly
ukká sukká, fully
chʌp luk, stealthily
raɽá mədán, quite plain
tʌssá triháiá, very thirsty
ṭu̇̃ɖ mu̇̃ɖ, all broken.

Intensified adjectives are usually formed in

rʌttá lál, very red (red like diamond)
kálá shá^, jet black (black like ink)
sává kʌcɽá, very green (green like a drug)
sává kəcúr, very green (green like a drug)
miṭṭhá khʌ̃ɖ, very sweet (sweet like sugar)
kə̄ɽá zə̄ú^r, extremely bitter (bitter like poison)
phikká go^á, tasteless (tasteless like dung)
ciṭṭá dudh, milky white
nílá cuhác, quite blue (blue like ?)

khʌṭṭá bəṛíṭ, very sour (sour like ?)
pʌtlá pətʌ̃g, very thin (thin like a kite)
tʌttá tel, very hot (hot like oil)
ṭhʌḍḍá ṭhár, very cold (cold like coldness)
siddhá tír, quite straight (straight like an arrow)
nʌvvá̃ nəkor, blank new (new as an unused thing). The word **nəkor** is Aw **korá** ; cf. **nəxálus,** for Per. xáliṣ.
sukká rəṛʌ̃g, very dry
sinná páṇí, very wet (wet as water)
ḍĩ̃gá phəṛĩ̃g, very crooked (crooked like ? (onom.)
roḍí ṭĩ̃ḍ, clean shaven (shaven like a small pitcher)
ṭhullá sútur, very thick (thick like yarn).

Note.—The question marks indicate that the words are obscure.

The following are some compound (echo-) words and intensive phrases which are not very regular and which appear to be loans from some dialect in which these formations are common—

rʌ̃ulá rʌppá, noise, etc.
bhá̃ḍá ṭĩ̃ḍur, utensils, etc.
lʌg ləveṛ, extra things
xʌbur ʌdur, news, etc.
bhukkhá bháṇá, quite hungry
ḍeḍur bheḍur, perplexed
ʌdh-krʌḍḍá, half-done
lʌm-səlʌmmá̃, very long
ʌl phʌl, quite naked, < Arab. ?
chuṭṭí ḍhukkí, free
ʌṭkul pʌccú, by guess
ʌṭṭá sʌṭṭá, by guess
hik kəṛʌkkí, at once
ʌ̃nní múrí, very blind
sáve̐ sʌṭṭe, at par
sʌtte səvele, very early.

VII. 4. Nursery Words

An important class of symbolic sounds is the group of nursery words which, again, are universal like onomatopoeas, but which are interpretted differently in different countries. The child utters

a number of sounds which are given meaning by the listeners. Contamination also takes place in the case of such words. They have no space-time history.

The discovery of nursery-words in each language will be an important contribution to linguistics. Ignorance of such formations has led Dr. Kakti to derive Ass. áta, father, from Skt. átman, (Formation and Development of Assamese, p. 300). Phonologists have tried to reconstruct Skt. tátyaḥ from tátaḥ, to justify H., L., P. cácá, uncle. It may be noted that Skt. tátaḥ, itself is a nursery word. Compare—

Aw. **pio,** father, Skt. pitá, H. báp, P. **pe**
Aw. **má,** mother, Skt. mátá. H., P. **má̃**
Aw. **máí,** woman, extended from **má,** for differentiation
Aw. **mámá̃,** uncle, Skt. mátulaḥ, Urdu mámá, maid, H. **má̃mú̃,** uncle
Aw. **mʌmmá,** teat, H. cúcú, teat
Aw. **bebe,** mother (Hindus), sister (Muslims), H., P. **bíbí,** mother, lady, Eng. baby
Aw. **bhábí,** mother, brother's wife, mother-in-law, Skt. bhrat̪ṛ + Pers. **bíwí,** P. bhá, brother, H. **bí,** lady
Aw. **bábú,** a good boy, H., B., P., **bábú**
Aw. **bíbá,** a good boy
Aw. **bhápá,** brother
Aw. **bhúá,** father's sister, has absolutely no phonological connection with Skt. pit̪ṛ-svasá
Aw. **phupphí,** father's sister
Aw. **hʌppá, bhʌppá,** kiss, Skt. √hrap-, √hlap-.

The Awankar child has been using his labial sounds in various combinations, which have been allied with most important relatives and other things. Next he learns gutturals and then other sounds and utters a number of combinations, of which the following have been given meanings—

cácá, uncle, father
lálá, father (Hindus), brother (Muslims)
dádá, grand-father, B. dádá, elder brother
dádí, grand-mother
káká, child, B. káká, uncle
gogá, a small cake of bread
golí, maid

gogo, tummy, which has extended to **gogur**
mái˜, water
toti, bread
memi, goat
máo˜, cat
toṭo, dog
cíco, bird
cíci, small finger
cícká, small cake
gig, eye-wax
gúgá, cup
i, hi, this
u, hú, that
loli, lullaby. etc., etc.

I think Aw., H., P. **de**, give, H., P. **le**, take, ḍogri ne, Aw. **khá**, eat, H., P. Já, go, Aw. **cá**, lift, **á**, come, **náˆ˜**, no, **há˜**, yes, **hāi˜**, what?, **hallá**, very well, **oe, vāi**, O, and such other words are originally nursery words.

5. Sound Symbolism

While dealing with the history of sounds, it has to be remembered that many of the irregular changes, especially in consonants can be explained in the light of psychological reaction of sounds. A particular sound, a definite syllable or a set combination of sounds alone can convey a required idea, feeling or sense. When a word is adopted in any language, its sounds are changed analogically.

In Awankari, for instance [c], as a rule, denotes dimunition, [ṭ] and [d], dimunition and deformity, and [ch], shelter, [dh] shows force and [ḍ] and [ḍh] convey violence. Examples—

[c] in **cuˆl**, stove	**cut**, female private part	**cúˆá**, mouse
cuˆnná˜, short-eyed	**bʌccá**, child	**cuccá**, short-eyed
coli, jacket	**cuṇ**, select	**cukká**, handful
cíci, little finger	**cug**, perch (v)	**copəṭ**, dice
[ṭ] in **ṭāi˜ṇá**, dwarf	**ṭoḍá**, young of a cattle	**bʌkroṭá**, a young kid
kʌṭ.i, a young buffalo		

[ḍ] in **ḍoḍá**, pod	**trʌḍḍá**, torn mat	**goḍá**, knee
ḍáˆḍá, strong	**ghiḍḍá**, crooked legged	**beḍá**, stupid
bhoḍá, bad-faced	**ḍʌḍḍú**, frog and	
ḍʌ˜g, bite	**ḍʌk**, close	**ḍub**, drown
ḍár, flock	**ḍikár**, belch	**ḍəskore**, sobs
ḍeˆmú˜, wasp	**ḍolá**, pitcher	
[ḍh] in **ḍhím**, lump	**ḍhuk**, suit, go near	**ḍhol**, drum
ḍhú, buttock	**ḍháˆ**, fall	**buḍh.á**, old
ḍhiˆḍ, tummy,	etc., etc.	

Cerebralization of PI. sounds in NIA languages may be due to this fact that they are more suitable to express certain feelings. Aspiration, which is a monopoly of Indo-Aryan languages, may also be due to the same fact.

Examples of [ch] words are—

kʌch, armpit	**much**, moustache	**chʌJ**, winnowing basket
chʌt, roof	**chʌṭ**, double sack	**chʌtrí**, umbrella
cheJe, husks	**chá˜**, shade	**chole**, grams
chúṇi, cover	**choldári**, tent	**chittur**, old shoes
chil, bark	**chʌp**, hide	**chəkor**, básket
chá˜g, foliage.		

Note [dh] in

dhʌppá, slap	**dhʌbbá**, washer-man	**dhʌṛ**, body
dhʌṛá, balance, party	**dhəbúk**, wasp	**dhəmál**, a dance
dhár, current	**dhá**, bathe	**dhrʌk**, fall
dhi, daughter	**dhī˜gi**, forcibly	**dháṛá**, attack
dhup, sunshine	**dhikká**, push	**dhúṛ**, dust
dhúṇi˜, smouldering fire	**dhútá**, stupid,	etc., etc.

Similarly I find [gh] very suitable for expressing strong emotions of fear, threat, etc. Compare—

ghuṛki, threat	**ghúruṇ**, cave	**ghábur**, perplexed
ghʌggá, hoarse-voiced	**ghátá**, loss	
gheslá, lazy	**ghug.ú**, owl	etc., etc.

[r] and [l] are usually used to express delicate feelings. [l] appears to be sweeter and finer than [r]. The change of [r] to [l] and vice verse may be due to the differing capacity of the two sounds

to convey feelings.

Compare—

rassi, rope	**lassí,** whey
rat, blood	**lat,** leg
borí, sack	**bolí,** speech
lárá, promise	**lolí,** lullaby

The formation of onomatopoeic words is an important incidence of sound symbolism.

VIII

AGENTS OF CHANGE

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1. Contamination.
   - (i) Etymological.
   - (ii) Complex Contamination.
   - (iii) Un-etymological.
   - (iv) Nursery Words.
   - (v) Hybrids.
   - (vi) Obscurities.
2. Analogy.
   - (i) Vowels.
   - (ii) Nasality.
   - (iii) Tone.
   - (iv) Consonants.
   - (v) Grammatical Forms.
3. Loans.
   - (i) Loans From Eastern Languages.
   - (ii) Dialectical Mixtures.
   - (iii) Tatsamas and Semi-Tatsamas.
   - (iv) Miscallaneous Loans.
   - (v) Homonyms and Synonyms.
     - (a) Homonyms.
     - (b) Synonyms.
4. Accent.
   - (i) Influence of Accent.

VIII. 1. Contamination

Contamination is a very powerful agent in the development of Awankari language. Many of the unrecognizable forms are explained by removing the confusion of words which has effected the new forms. As the subject may be of great interest to linguists and comparative philologists, I shall venture to give an extensive view of the phenomenon in the dialect.

VIII. 1. i. Etymological

Let us first take up the contamination of words etymologically connected.

Simple contamination may be noted in—

Aw. **khʌṭ,** dig, < Skt. khaṭṭ-, and skud-, P. **khuṭ**

Aw. **ciˆṛ, cheṛ,** < Skt. ceṣṭ-, kṣveḍ

Aw. **cuṇ,** pick, select, < Skt. cinoti, cuṇṭati

Aw. **ṭʌ̃g,** leg, < Skt. ṭaṅgam, < tag and taṁs-, to hang

Aw. **ḍhʌi,** be given, Passive from Aw. **de,** give, contaminated with Southern Lahndi **ḍe,** give.

In Aw. **mai̅̃ḍhá,** mine, [**ai̅**] is the result of contamination of Ap. maham, and mai̅̃, (Acc. & Ins.). See Pischel, P. 299. [**ai̅ˆ̃**] in Aw. **tai̅̃ḍhá,** yours, is similarly come out of vowels in Ap. tai̅̃ (Instr.) and Mágadhi tuham, tuhiḍḍ (gen.).

[**á˜ˆ**] in Aw. **tudhá˜ˆ,** to you, has resulted from tuham < Skt. tvatnam, and tudhra, tujjha (Pischel p. 296).

Aw. **khenú,** ball, < Skt. kandukaḥ, and khelá

Aw. **Jhuṭṭí,** pounce, snatch, < Sk. jhaṭṭa and jhuṇṭa, current

Aw. **vith,** span, space, < Skt. vitastiḥ, and hastaḥ

Aw. **lʌṭh,** staff, < Skt. yaṣṭiḥ and lakuṭa-

Aw. **ríṣ,** imitation, < Skt. íṛṣyá and riṣ-?

Aw. **Júṛá,** knot of hair, < Skt. cuḍá and jaṭá

Aw. **kúrká,** pup, < Skt. kurkuraḥ and onom. kúr-kúr

Aw. **ḍúghá,** deep, < Skt. gádhaḥ and guḍhaḥ

Aw. **kuJh,** some, < Skt. kim˜cit- and kaścid

Vide Chatterjee §. 589. Reshi **kijh,** is purely connected with the original word.

Aw. **əṛu˜g,** tuck (v), < Aw. **ʌṛ,** and **ṭu˜g**

Aw. **giṭáṛ,** stony ground, < Aw. **giṭá,** and **gáṛ**
< Skt. guṭiká, pebble, and Pk. gára, stone-

Aw. **guggá,** snake, **goguṛ,** tummy, and **gúgá,** cup, are extensions from Skt. golaḥ and gavate, goes

Aw. **huph,** close, < Skt. úṣma, or váṣpa and onom. uph, Per. uf

Aw. **məˆ˜getur,** bride or bridegroom-elect, as **mʌ˜g,** asking, plus-contaminated **kítá,** done

sákh, in Aw. **vʌttursákh,** vegetable, < Skt. patra + shákhá and sháka.

Aw. **ejhá,** like this, may be compared with Aw. **eˆá-Jeˆá,** < Skt. ídṛsha-, yádṛsha-, Pk. íis and jáais ?

Aw. **nimo Jháṇá,** despaired, < Skt. namra-dhyánaḥ and nimúrdhanaḥ + akaḥ

Aw. **ubʌt,** vomit, < Skt. ud-vam- (vanta-) and ud-vartanam

Aw. **khus,** tear, snatch, < Skt. kuṣṇáti and skoṣati

Aw. **kʌˆṛ,** boil, < Skt. kvath- and kaṭh-

Aw. **guḍh,** coil, < Skt. gunth- and gudh-

Aw. **ghus,** miss, < Skt. kuṣṇáti and ghṛṣati

Aw. **cʌkh,** taste, < Skt. caṣ-, jakṣh- direct from Pk. cakkhai, tastes

Aw. **chil,** skin (v), < Skt. chid- and kṣvil-

Aw. **Jhur,** fret and foam, < Skt. jhṛ-, jvar- Pk. jurai

Aw. **nim,** bow (v), < Skt. nam- and nipat-

Aw. **phʌṛuk,** flutter, < Skt. sphaṭ- and sphur-

Aw. **vəlheṭ,** wrap, < Skt. vall-, and samveṣṭ-

Aw. **víṭ,** fall, < Skt. ví-, and viṭ-

Aw. **siJ,** be wet, < Skt. sin˜cati and abhyan˜jate, cf. P. **bhiJ**

Aw. **khudhur,** ravine, < Skt. skandhádara and kandará

Aw. **ghəmusuṛ,** close, < Skt. gharma- and uṣman- + extensional suffix.

We get explanation of aspiration in Aw. **gáˆl,** abuse, < Skt. gáli and Skt. garhá, censure, galha.

[-u] in Aw. **mákhú,** honey, < Skt. mákṣika- and madhu-.

Aspiration in **ughur,** raise, < Skt. udgurate, lifts, which has contaminated with Skt. udghaṭaḥ, raising.

[-i-] in Aw. **picche,** behind, < Skt. pasca- and Skt. piccham, tail-feather, or pṛṣṭha-, back.

[b-] in Aw. **bʌlluṇ,** to burn, < Skt. jvalati and dyotate.

Aw. onomatopoeic **ḍikár,** belch, has resulted due to contamination with Skt. udgára-

Aw. **pʌghrun̤,** to melt, < Skt. pragalati, drips, and pragharati, oozes
Aw. **krĩ˜,** a thorny tree, < Skt. karíra- and karīṣa-
Aw. **khʌppí,** noisy, < Skt. kandarpika and onomatopoeic kh- kh-
Aw. **kʌnkol,** or **kʌnkurun̤,** a centipede, < Skt. karkoṭa- and karṇa-, ear
Aw. **nikká,** small, < Skt. nyak- and nícа-
Aw. **nã˜,** no, < Skt. na, and nahi
Aw. **haṭ,** be away, < Skt. hata- and aṭṭ
Aw. **sudh,** be fixed up, < Skt. shudhyati and bodhati, cf. Aw. **suJh, buJh,** know
Aw. **vápur,** befall, < Skt. vyápṛta-, and vyápára-
Aw. **miṇ,** measure, < Skt. √má and minoti
Aw. **miJh,** marrow, < Skt. majjá and mṛdhyate
Aw. **dhuákh,** be smoked, < Skt. dhúmáyate and dhukṣate
Aw. **triṇá,** threefold, < Skt. triguṇaḥ and triṇi.

VIII. 1. ii. Complex Contamination

Complex contamination is not quite common in Awankari. The following instances may be given—

Aw. **ʌd̤,** open, < Skt. aḍ-, aḍḍ-, and ad-, to eat
Aw. **cith,** grind, < Skt. cṛts-, kṣipta-, and chid-
Aw. **Jhʌs,** rub well, < Skt. dhams-, dhras- and gharṣ-, and direct from Pk. jhasia, thrown up
Aw. **kheḍ,** play, < Skt. kriḍ-, kel-, and khelá, also kheṭ, Turner's kṣvelati
Aw. **lík,** line, < Skt. rekhá, likh-, and Deshi lakír
Aw. **gu˜duṇ,** to coil and **gu˜nnuṇ,** to knead, < Skt. gumphati, grathnáti and bandhati
Aw. **bhʌlṭávuṇ,** to go astray, < Skt. bhramati contaminated with Aw. **bhul,** forget, and H. palṭá
Aw. **dhəbúk, dhəbúṛí,** wasp, < Skt. daṁsha-, bhṛṅga- and onomatopoeic (cf. **dhʌppá,** blow) extension
Aw. **nʌp,** capture, < Skt. n˜jápyate, naptá and Pk. ṇappai, grasps
Aw. **ḍhi˜gur,** thorny hedge, < Skt. dírgha- and Aw. **ḍhí˜gá,** pole, **ḍha˜gá,** noose, and **ḍá˜g,** stick.

VIII. 1. iii. Un-etymological

Sometimes two words having little or absolutely no etymological relationship are confused, or etymology has been misunderstood and folk-etymology has brought about new forms. There is, indeed, psychological connection between them. A number of them appear to be syncopated compound words. Examples—

Aw. **ṭʌk,** cut, < Skt. takṣ-, to cut, and tark-, to question, Pk. taṇkia
Aw. **kor,** who, < Skt. ko-aparaḥ
Aw. **cʌ˜drá,** naughty, < Skt. caṇḍaḥ and candraḥ
Aw. **ká˜lá,** impatient, < Skt. kalaha, quarrel, and ákula, perturbed
Aw. **háṇí,** of same age, < Pk. áḍhí, < Skt. ardha-, near, and Skt. háyana, year
Aw. **cúpuṇ,** to suck, < Skt. cúṣati, sucks, and capayati, pounds, Cf. H. cúsná
Aw. **cháṇ,** sieve (v.), < Skt. kṣálayati, washes, kṣaṇoti, breaks, Contamination had already worked in Pk. chaṇai
Aw. **pug,** be finished, < Skt. púryate, and gavate, goes,—Doublet with Aw. **puJ,** suit
Aw. **phrol,** poke, < Aw. **pher,** move, and **rol,** turn
Aw. **hiṛ,** stiffening of penis, < Skt. hiṇḍate, wanders, and Aw. **ʌṛ,** entangle
Aw. **hochá,** mean, < Skt. autsa-, shallow, and tucchakaḥ, small
Aw. **tetrá,** spotted, < Skt. citrakaḥ, tiger, and tittaraḥ, partridge
Aw. **hʌbhá,** all, < Skt. sarva- and sabhá, cf. Chatterjee p. 440
Aw. **pəvá˜d,** lower side of bed-stead, < Skt. pádánta- and Aw. **pává,** leg
Aw. **sirá˜dú,** pillow, < Skt. shirasthána and shira-ante, cf. Aw. **sirá˜d,** upper side of a bed-stead
Aw. **cháí,** ash, < Skt. kṣára- and cháyá
Aw. **bʌghṇá,** churning rope, < Skt. valgu- and √vakh, to move
Aw. **uṇ,** weave, < Skt. √vun-. to weave, and úrṇa, wool
Aw. **vʌkhrá,** separate, < Skt. pakṣa- and vakṣas, chest, + extension
Aw. **sʌJJá,** right, < Skt. savyaḥ and sadyaḥ, fresh
Aw. **khʌbbá,** left, < Skt. kharvaḥ and savyaḥ
Aw. **polá,** soft, < Skt. pallava- and pulkita-
Aw. **bhiṭṭuṇ,** to get polluted, < Skt. viṣṭá- and bhraṣṭa-
Aw. **nirá,** entire, < Skt. nitrám and niratah, engrossed.

VIII. 1. iv. Nursery Words

Almost all nursery words are the result of contamination of child's speech and the original sounds. Compare, for instance, the labial sounds of the child and their semantic contamination with native words.

Aw. **bhúá,** father's sister, and Skt. vadhúká
Aw. **má,** mother, and Skt. mátá
Aw. **mámá˜,** uncle, and Skt. mátulaḥ
Aw. **cácá, táiá, káká,** and Skt. tátaḥ
Aw. **lálá,** father, H. lallá, Skt. lálayate
Aw. **phupphí,** father's sister, and Skt. pitṛ-svasá
Aw. **bhirá,** or **bhápá,** brother, and Skt. bhrátá
etc., etc.

VIII. 1. v. Hybrids

Hybrids may also be included in this class, as for example—

Aw. **guṭh,** corner, — Skt. koṭiḥ, koṣṭha and Per. goshah, corner
Aw. **tə˜dúr,** oven, — Skt. tandu- and Per. tanúr
Aw. **sává,** green, — Skt. shyámaḥ, or sháka and Per. sabz, green
Aw. **páskú,** a make-weight, — Skt. páṣáṇa-, stone, and Per. pásang, balance
Aw. **phekṛe,** pieces of curd, — Aw. **phiṭ,** be sour, and H. ṭukṛe, pieces
Aw. **trʌ˜guṛ,** a netted sack, — Skt. √tan-, H. tágá and Per. tang
Aw. **dreguṛ,** a sandy bed, — Skt. dagdha- and Per. reg, sand
Aw. **má˜dá,** seriously ill, — Skt. manda, Per. mánd, dim
Aw. **mʌmṭí,** turret, — Per. bám, roof and Skt ?
Aw, **bukul,** scarf, — Skt. valkala- and Per. bugcah.

VIII. 1. vi. Obscurities

The following forms also appear to have arisen by the influence of contamination which is not exactly traceable for absence of links.

Aw. **kúlá,** soft, — Skt. komalaḥ
Aw. **vák,** unity, — Skt. aikyam and perhaps vák-

Aw. **paĩ˜ḍá,** distance, — Skt. pantha-, way, cf. L. **pʌ^dh,** distance
Aw. **kaṇṛ,** anger, — Skt. krodha- and semantic contamination of kaṭukaḥ, Aw. **kaṇṛá,** bitter
Aw. **kʌchí,** drawers, — Skt. kakṣa-, armpit, Pk. kaṇci
Aw. **vʌlgət,** way, — Skt. √val
Aw. **máṛá,** bad, — Skt. manda- and mala and ?
Aw. **ḍorá,** deaf, — Skt. vadhira-
Aw. **əlambá,** spark, — Skt. álátá, Pk. áláya, also H. lapalapáti
Aw. **drokhá,** lamp-stand, — Skt. díparakṣakaḥ

VIII. 2. Analogy

Analogy has always been recognised as to some extent an agent in speech-change, but it is only within the last few years that the wideness of the principle has been recognized. Curtius (quoted by Taraporewala, p. 184) states that 'analogical formations seem to me probable in recent periods only.' Dr. Ghate in his learned article on Analogy in Sanskrit, in Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, has clearly shown that such changes have been wide and copious even in OIA. Assimilation of a large number of declensions, conjugations, indeclinables and other grammatical forms in Prakrit has been due to analogy.

VIII. 2. i. Vowels

In Awankari many an unexpected change is clear in the light of analogy. For instance—

[á]

1. The masculine termination -á < Skt. -akaḥ has been extended analogically in a large number of nouns, adjectives and even verbs which agree in gender with the subject. For examples—

Aw. **hənárá,** darkness
hikʌllá, alone
ánáá, he comes
do^trá, daughter's son
do^rá, double
áiá, came
etc.

2. So also Fem. [-í] < Skt. -iká, as in

hənerí, storm
do^trí, daughter's daughter

VIII

hikAlí, alone **do^rí**, double
áṇí, she comes **ái**, came

etc.

3. (a) vṛddhi, in Aw. **rákhá**, protector, has been effected by the analogy of Skt. pácakaḥ. So also in **áJṛí**, shepherd, from **AJuṛ**, flock, **á~gá**, vaccinator, from **A~guṇ**, to vaccinate, and other forms.

(b) Vṛddhi in adjectival forms like Aw. **máJhá**, from **maJh**, buffalo, **bákrá**, from **bAkrí**, goat, is a similar influence of analogy of vṛddhi in Skt. gáṅgam payaḥ.

(c) Vṛddhi formations of the following types are also analogical—

vádhá, increase (n), from **vAdh**, grow; **ghátá**, loss from **ghAṭ**, lessen.

4. Turner speaks of the [á] of Gujrati váḍ, hedge, as an analogical formation from Pk. vaṭa-, < Skt. vṛta-, so the [á] of Awan. in **váṛ**, hedge.

5. Awan. [á] from Pk. [a] in **kəresá~**, I shall do, Pali, karissam, and **hosá~**, I shall be, Pk. hossam, seems to be due to analogy from the present tense in Ap. jáṇau~.

[i]

6. [-i] in Awan. **ti**, and **Ji**, that, presents an interesting illustration of the influence of analogy from Per. kih, that.

7. [-i-] in Aw. **nikká**, small, **Jhikká**, low, is analogically formed as in **phikká**, tasteless, **miṭṭhá**, sweet, etc.

[í]

8. In words like **kí**, what, and **Jí**, whatever, [í] has to be explained as being due to analogy from **í**, **hí**, this.

9. In **kAdí**, when, [í] is analogical to that in Skt. yadi, if.

10. [í] in Aw. **suṇí vA~J**, go hearing, **ákhí á**, come saying, etc. is from Pk. forms like karia, < Skt. kṛtvá.

[u]

11. [u] in **cuṇ**, select, is perhaps due to the analogy of **suṇ**, hear.

On the analogy of Skt. √shubh, kṣobh, cud, cod, cur, cor, etc. are formed Aw. intransitive bases like **ghul**, blow, melt, **khul**, open, **cupuṛ**, get besmeared, **thuṛ**, lessen, etc.

[-ú]

12. [-ú] in Aw. **mákhú**, honey, **sáú** (sádhu), gentleman, **kháú**, eater, **sAṛú**, jealous, **sirá~dú**, pillow, and a large number of other

words listed in I. 1. ii. appear to be analogical from Skt. madhu-.

[o]

13. Compare with No. (11), above, the following forms which again are analogical. Some indeed, had been worked out in late Sanskrit. Compare Skt. tulayati and tolayati, Skt. √lul-, √lol-, etc. and Pk. ukkhaḍai and akkhoḍai, < Skt. utkhaṭati.

Aw. **ghuṭ**, be pressed **ghoṭ**, press
khus, be snatched **kho^**, snatch
Juṭ, be joined **Joṭ**, join
ṭuk, cut **ṭok**, check
buḍ, be drowned **boṛ**, dip
chuṭ, be released **choṛ**, leave.

[·ṛ] further shows that the latter forms are more recent.

14. The same analogical guṇa is used to form nouns, as

Aw. **soJhá**, care, < Skt. shudhyate
dodhí, milk-seller, < Skt. dugdha-.

[e]

15. On the analogy of loc. termination **-e**, as in Aw. **ghAre**, in the house, have been formed such words as **kAtthe**, where, **idde**, here, **udde**, there, etc. A similar working of analogy is seen in the case of **neṛe**, near, **Agge**, before, **uṛe**, this side, **pAre**, on that side, **í~Je**, like this, **ú~Je**, like that, etc.

Also note [e] in **ke**, what, **Je**, that, on the model of **e**, or **e^**, this, < Skt. etad-, eṣa-.

[ai]

16. On page 337 (Gujrati Phonology), Turner points out that the [ai] of Gujrati vaiṇ, word, < vacana > Pk. vaaṇa-, is due to the influence of Jain Prakrit, otherwise it would, as original tadhbhava, have appeared as ván (Pischel §. 187). The same is true of Awan. **vaiṇ**, mourning utterances, **caiṛá**, broad, and other words (see III. 4. ii) in which [ai] has come from [á+á] due to analogy from Jain Prakrit.

[ai] in **taí~ḍhá**, yours, is analogical from Aw. **maí~ḍhá** (**maí~**+**dá**), mine. Compare Reshi **to~ḍhá** which is, of course, older Pkt. tuham-ḍḍa.

[ai] in **kaí~**, who, is formed on the model of **maí~**, I.

VIII. 2. ii. Nasality

17. Nasality in **kaĩ̃**, who, **taĩ̃ḍhá,** yours, is analogical. What we call 'spontaneous nasalization', may be the effect of analogy. For such words see IV. 2.

It is now a common-place fact that final nasalization in feminine forms like **sítã̃**, **sumitrã̃**, is due to the influence of Skt. -áni < Ap. -ã̃. This nasality in final position has, perhaps, extended to other forms.

In **treṯ̃h,** sixty-three, **cauṯ̃h,** sixty-four, **chiaĩṯ̃h,** sixty-six, **sətaĩṯ̃h,** sixty-seven, nasality is in harmony with the nasal sound in **paĩṯ̃h,** sixty-five, < Skt. pañca-ṣaṣṭi.

Similarly, nasalization in **səntáʰlí**, forty-seven, **cautrí**, thirty-four, and **tetrí,** thirty-three, is analogical.

Nasality in Aw. **jí̃**, as, is in harmony with that in Aw. **kí̃**, how, < Skt. kim.

The reverse tendency of denasalization appears to me to be analogical, as in Skt. gunth-, guth-.

Aw. **mədhánṇí,** churning stick, **kʌghí,** comb, and other examples may be examined in IV. 3.

VIII. 2. iii. Tone

18. In some words tone is analogical, as in Aw. **ubáʰl,** haste, P. káʰl, Aw. **gáʰlí,** H. P., gálī, abuse. It is just possible that analogy has worked in what we have called "spontaneous aspiration".

VIII. 2. iv. Consonants

19. Many a sporadic preservation of PI. consonants in Awankari may possibly be due to the agency of analogy, as **[s]** in **has,** laugh, < Skt. hasati, **[p]** in **oprá,** strange, as in P. **uppur,** above, < Skt. upari.

ḍ > **[l]** in Aw. **JʌʰllÁ,** stupid, < Skt. jaḍa, is probably due to analogy from **bhallá,** good, < Skt. bhadra-, bhadla-.

It may be possible one day to explain many a phonological obscurity through a thorough study and application of analogy.

VIII. 2. v. Grammatical forms

20. Quite a large number of grammatical forms have been smoothed down in Awankari under the influence of analogy. For examples—

(a) Formation of nouns on the model of Skt. ekalya, loneliness, drāḍhya, firmness, are formed Aw. **pʌk,** confirmity (Skt. pakva-), **nʌ̃g,** nudity (Skt. nagna-), etc.

(b) The following transitive forms are analogical—

Aw. **nitur,** from **nitár,** Pk. nitthárai
nibuṛ, from **nəbeṛ,** Skt. nirvartate, ni- √vaḍ-
nicuṛ, from **nicoṛ,** Pk. niccuḍai, Sk. niṣcotate
uJuṛ, from **uJáṛ,** Skt. ud-jáṭá ?

Note how penultimate vowels in the intransitive form have been smoothed down.

(c) The causative form for transitive is analogical on the model of **ʌpṛaĩná,** causes to reach, < -ápayati forms, as in
vʌrtaĩná, distributes
kʌlpaĩná, worries
khiṯ̃ḍaĩná, scatters.

21. Analogy has worked regularly in the formation of many suffixes in Awankari.

[-iár] < kára, is analogical in such words as **khiḍiár,** player.

The feminine affix **[-áni]** has come by analogy in Aw. **niánṇí,** wife of a barber, H. nāin, Aw. **bhiánṇi,** wife of a Bhai (a caste).

bhəṽáṭ, wanderer, is formed on the model of Skt. vácáṭa-.

22. Analogy may be noted in the formation of the following antonyms—

saukhá, easy, < Skt. saukhyam,—**aukhá,** difficult
JáṽJí, member of a bridegroom's party, < Skt. janyá-, —**máṽJí,** member of birde's party
pár, that side across, < Skt. pára,—**urár,** this side
suthrá, tidy, < Skt. svastha-, sthira,—**kothrá,** untidy
ʌsmʌttur, like us, < Skt. asmat,—**tusmʌttur,** like you
Jitthe, where, < Pk. jettha,—**kitthe,** where; Reshi **kʌtthe,** is regular
kitṇá, how much, < Pa. kittaka,—**Jitṇá,** as much,—**itṇá,** so

much

sʌn^re, father-in-law's house, < shvashura-,—**peke,** father's house

putrete, men on the boy's side,—**dhete,** men on the girl's side.

23. Harmony is kept in the formation of

Aw. **Jʌdduṇ,** when, **kʌdduṇ,** when, and **tʌdduṇ,** then, < Skt. tadánim

Aw. **Jíkuṇ,** as, **kíkuṇ,** how, **tíkuṇ,** upto

Aw. **Jĩ˜ve˜,** as, **kive˜,** how, **hive˜,** this way

Aw. **Jitvá˜, kitvá˜,** in which order, **utvá˜,** in that order, and other pronominal derivatives.

VIII. 3. Loans

Loans from Arabic, Persian, Turkish and English have been dealt with separately. Below are given loan-words from other contemporary spoken Indian languages and dialectical mixtures which exist in doublets. Loans from Sanskrit and Pali (i.e., tatsamas and semitatsamas) will also be considered.

VIII. 3. i. Loans from Eastern Languages

1. Words containing long vowels from Skt., Pk. short vowels have been borrowed from eastern IA languages. Compare—

[á] in

Aw. **khátá,** account, < Skt. kṣatram, administration, Pk. khattam, estate

Aw. **curá˜nve,** ninetyfour, < Skt. catur-navati, Pk. cauṇaum

Aw. **há˜ḍí,** < haṇḍá, kettle

Aw. **dá^ṛ,** grinding teeth, < Skt. daṁṣṭra-

Aw. **dhágá,** thread, < Pk. tagga-, gold-thread

Aw. **vág,** rein, < Skt. valgu-

Aw. **ákuṛ,** boast, < Pk. akkaḍ-

Aw. **utrá˜J,** rope, < Skt. uttara-rajjuḥ

[í] in

Aw. **jíbh,** tongue, Skt. jihvá, Pk. jibbha

Aw. **ní˜dur,** sleep, < Skt. nidrá, Multani **nindər**

Aw. **lík,** line, < Skt. likh-

Aw. **ʌ˜gíṭhí,** fire place, < Skt. agniṣṭhiká, Apa. aggiṭṭho

Aw. **tílá,** straw, < Skt. tṛṇa-, but H. tinká, is not clear.

[ú] in

Aw. **úgh,** drowse, < Skt. uṅkhati, although denasalization in Awankari

Aw. **júṭh,** leavings, < Skt. uṣṭa, Pk. juṭṭha, unless it is nominal Vṛddhi

Aw. **ḍhú^ḍ,** search, < Pk. ḍhuṇḍhullai. Here also denasalization is an Awankari characteristic.

Aw. **ə˜gúṭh,** thumb, < Skt. aṅguṣṭha-, Pk. anguṭṭha-

Aw. **lú^lá,** decrepit, < Skt. √lul, and lunati. It may be an onomatopoeic word.

Aw. **Jhúṭá,** swing, < Skt. jhuṇṭaḥ

Aw. **cú˜ḍuṇ,** to pluck, < Skt. cuṇṭati.

Almost all these words have also received Awankari stamps. They are semi-loans.

2. Words containing [b] from PI. [v] are probably loans. The number of such words is quite large, though the real tendency of the dialect is to preserve [v]. I am, however, constrained to believe that the twofold treatment of PI. [v] has existed in the dialect since MI, mainly to avoid confusion and chaos in sounds. Compare the following doublets—

Aw. **vʌchá,** calf	**bʌchá,** child
vʌJ, blow (v)	**bʌJ,** injury
vʌn^, drive	**bʌn^,** sit
vʌṛí, lump of pulse	**bʌṛí,** big

etc.

It appears that the influence of Punjabi has been predominent. Compare—

Aw. **bʌddul,** cloud, < Pk. vaddala-

Aw. **bəṭerá,** quail, < Skt. vartakaḥ, Pk. vaṭṭaya-

Aw. **bʌn^ṭí,** wife, < Skt. vadhū-

Aw. **bo^ṛ,** banyan tree, < Skt. vaṭa-, Pk. vaḍa-

Aw. **buḍḍhá,** old, < vṛddha-, Pk. vuḍḍha
Aw. **chabbí,** twenty six, < Skt. ṣaḍ-viṁshati
but **cʌ^vví,** 24, **bá^ví,** 22, etc.
Aw. **bín,** harp, < Skt. viṇá
etc., etc.

3. The consonant group [tr] is regularly preserved in the dialect. The words in which it has been modified into [tt] or [ṭṭ] are doubtlessly loans from the east. Examples—
Aw. **te~trí,** thirty-three, **te^rá~,** thirteen, but **tritá^lí,** 43, **tre~ṭh,** 63, **trivʌ~já,** 53, **triási,** 83, etc.
Aw. **tummuṇ,** to card cotton, < Skt. trumpati
Aw. **ciṭṭá,** white, < Skt. citrakaḥ.

4. The group nasal-aspirated plosive is invariably denasalized I but consider the following—
Aw. **kʌ~ṭhí,** necklace, < Pk. kaṇṭhia
Aw. **Jʌ~gh,** leg, < Skt. jaṅghá
Aw. **re~ḍhí,** a melon, < Skt. ?
Aw. **sarbʌ~dhí,** relative, < Skt. sambandhin
Aw. **sá~Jhá,** common, < Skt. sánsha-.

5. PI [mp] or [mb] is assimilated into **[mm]** in Awankari, so the following words are loaned from Punjabi or Hindi, in which the group is modified into **[mb]**—
cʌmbá, jasmine, < Skt. campakaḥ
dumbá, lamb, < late Skt. dumbakaḥ.
[Note—It may be remembered that loan-words from Hindi are more common in Punjabi than in Lahndi dialects].

VIII. 3. ii. Dialectical Mixtures

Loans from neighbouring Lahndi dialects are so numerous that a systematic analysis of such words would be a subject by itself. I shall mention just a few important mixtures.
Aw. **mʌkhá~, mʌkhú, mʌkhe,** I say
Aw. **boJhá, Jobhá, Jebhá,** pocket
Aw. **bíJo, búJo,** she-monkey

Aw. **hənerá, hənárá, ənhárá,** darkness
Aw. **de~, deo~,** sun
Aw. **dívuṭ, ḍíuṭ,** wick
Aw. **bái, bá^ví,** twenty-two
Aw. **sáḍá, siḍḍá, ʌḍḍá,** our
Aw. **saĩ~, sãũ~,** sleep
Aw. **tuḍḍá, tusiḍḍá, tusáḍá,** your
Aw. **kitti, kitṇe,** how many
Aw. **sí, sí~,** winter
Aw. **ətvár, ətár, itvár,** Sunday
Aw. **ákhná, á^ná,** says
Aw. **kʌde, kidde,** whither
Aw. **kʌtthe, kitthe, kutthe,** where
Aᴍ. **huṇ, hʌṇ,** now
Aw. **cãũl, cávul,** rice
Aw. **hʌ~Jhú, ʌthrú,** tear
Aw. **goli, go^ṛí,** tablet
Aw. **thãũ^, thá^,** bottom
Aw. **miJh, miJ,** marrow
Aw. **Jəvátrá, Jəvái,** son-in-law
Aw. **rəcháṇí, rʌchváṇí,** tool-box
Aw. **nərel, nəlger,** cocoanut
Aw. **əṭháṭh, əṭhaĩṭh,** sixty eight
Aw. **nãũ^~, ni^~o,** nail
Aw. **ver, vár,** turn
Aw. **shábá, shábush,** bravo
Aw. **pərseo, pərse,** perspiration
Aw. **si~Jhátá, sihátá,** recognized
Aw. **sʌbho, hʌbho,** all
Aw. **khəvíná, khəJíná,** is eaten
Aw. **ke, kí,** what
Aw. **bhʌjjá, bhʌnná,** broken
Aw. **bʌddhá, bʌ^nná,** tied
Aw. **paĩ^r, pá^r, pãũ^r,** part of time
Aw. **do, do~,** two
Aw. **kuJh, kiJh,** some
Aw. **naĩṇ, niáṇí, nihāṇí,** barber's wife
Aw. **əgá^~, əgá^e~,** further
Aw. **álá, Jálá,** niche etc., etc.

Note—Often it is difficult to distinguish these phonetic doublets. Only a complete study of all Lahndi dialects can enable us to say what words are specifically Awankari and what others are loans.

The following are some of the most recent loans in Waṇaḍhí from Dhanoci which lies on the way of our communication, Chakwal (the centre of the Dhanoci tract) being the nearest railway station.

Aw. **á˜dá,** brought
Aw. **ákhná˜,** I say, Reshi **əkhená˜**
Aw. **iná˜˜dí,** theirs, Reshi **í˜nná˜ní˜**
Aw. **siá, siaí,** was.

The low rising tone is also a new loan found in just a few words in the speech of certain individuals.

VIII. 3. iii. Tatsamas and Semi-tatsamas

The tatsama element in Awankari is conspicuous by its absence. Hindus have now begun to adopt Sanskritized names such as **Jagdísh, mahendər, suresh, shántí, sumitrá, shílá˜,** etc. But it is still difficult for non-Hindus and even old Hindu women to pronounce such names properly. Religious terms such as **sa˜dhiá, sádhú, púJá, páṭh, ved, múrtí,** etc. are, of course, inherited tatsama words and confined to Hindus only.

Semi-tatsamas have also religious connection. Compare—

Jogí, Yogin	**əsis,** blessing, < √áshís-
bhugut, dead, < bhukta-	**sirádh,** a ceremony connected with spirits
pʌkh, fornight	**əmʌsiá˜,** new-moon day
purmáshí, full-moon day	**ikásti,** 11th day
cʌtʌrtí, 4th day	**kiriá˜,** funeral ceremony
məsáṇ, cremation ground	**pun,** virtue
ishná˜n, bath	**bhág,** fate
vʌrut, fast	**sucum,** purity, < shaucyam-
səráp, curse, < shápa-	**surug,** heavens
nʌruk, hell	**Jún,** birth, < yoniḥ-
etc.,	etc.

It is a general fact that religious terms are preserved tenaciously and devotedly. They remain unaffected by phonological changes.

Some common words used by Hindus as well as Muslims in

Awankari are apparently semi-tatsamas, the exact reasons for their immunity from change being unknown. Differentiation from other words may be one.

Examples—

turut, at once	**əgás,** sky
rʌssá, soup	**ás,** hope
Játuk, child, < játaḥ	**ásrá,** support
nit, daily	**vis,** poison
álá, niche, < álaya-	**vəpár,** trade
sufná˜, dream	**sur,** tune
sʌtt, essence, power, < sattva-, cf. **sʌc,** truth.	**hʌṭh,** perseverance

The above may be compared with words listed as 'preserved' in II. 4. or with those in which phonological development was retarded. (see III. 1.)

VIII. 3. iv. Miscellaneous loans

It has already been mentioned that Awankari vocabulary is not very rich and it has to depend on Punjabi and Hindustani. Education, communication and fondness for "foreign" element is bringing in new things and new names, some of which have become naturalized. Examples—

dhágá, thread, Pk. tagga, gold-thread
kʌnkʌúá, kite **səhāilí,** female friend
mʌrial, dead-like **hí˜J, í˜J,** in this way
sərbʌtt, all, < sarvatra.

VIII. 3. v. Homonyms and Synonyms

As the result of various phonological influences, loans and dialectical variations, Awankari has come to possess a large number of homonyms and synonyms some of which must disappear sooner or later. Some of them will survive if by semantic or phonetic narrowing or extension they stand as individuals. Those words also that cannot be confused in a context have a chance to stay.

Some specific examples are given below—

VIII. 3. v(a). Homonyms

gáˆṇe, mortgage, ornaments	**ghaṭá**, thick, loss
ʌl, nickname, habit, a gourd-like vegetable creeper	
goˆṛí, cotton ball, tablet	**hʌgná**, can, eases himself
há˜, yes, heart	**ár**, like, awl
ubharná, east, rising, boils	**uṭh**, stand, camel
bʌˆn, tie, pond	**hʌs**, laugh, collarbone
Jʌ˜dri, padlock, ass-pannier	**Jálá**, niche, cobweb, soot
Joṛ, join, joint, affection, total	**beṛí**, boat, fetters
báki, balance, land-tax	**boli**, speech, pebble
Jhʌl, madness, blow	**bhá**, rate, fire, to like
kʌc, glass, unripeness	**bhussá**, pale, sandstone
cúrá, cairn, powder	**cáṇni**, canopy, moonlight, an ornament
kʌkkur, frost, thong	**kʌṇi**, drop, hard rice
kʌs, fever, ravine, tighten	**kʌssi**, rivulet, less, motion
cúrá, cairn, powder	**koˆ**, 1 1/2 mile, kill
kʌ̃l, word, cup	**khʌl**, stay, skin, oil-cake
khʌppá, hole, vexed	**cukká**, handful, settled
khʌṭṭá, sour, sour milk, a lemon, dug.	

Note—Already the PP. form is assuming a glide before final [á], as **khappiá, khaṭṭiá**, etc.

deˆá˜, yesterday, tomorrow	**dʌ˜di**, precipice, teeth
cháí, ashes, black spots on face	**lʌt**, leg, bad habit
dhʌṛ, body, party	**ḍolí**, a pot, litter
ḍháḍhí, bard, bonfire	**láṭ**, flame, tail, lord
mʌ˜dur, charm, temple	**máˆ˜**, me, a month, a pulse
máˆl, rope, sitting room	**máṛí**, bad, lofty house
muhár, rent, nose-rope	**moˆṛá**, village, goods
nʌkká, high bank, eye of a needle	**nʌllá**, nose, reed
náṛ, stubble, vein, pain	**pʌṭṭhá**, young kid, straw
pʌṭ, thigh, beam, dig up	**pásá**, gold, side
píˆṛí, generation, a seat	**piṛ**, to harness, pain
pipli, pepper, eye-lash	**sʌJJá**, fresh, right, decorated

sáˆ, hare, breath	**sá˜g**, fancy dress, spear
rʌssá, rope, gravy	**pinní˜**, shin, ball
siṭṭá, ear, speculation	**trʌkṛí**, balance, strong
ta˜g, girth, narrow	**váṛá**, sheepfold, cotton
ʌk, tired, acia tree	**ʌḍḍá**, our, heel, opened.

VIII. 3. v(b). Synonyms

Aw. **á˜guṇ, ár**, like	**ʌJh, bãˆ**, sit
ʌṇí, kʌḍḍhá, bank	**əmúdhá, əpuṭṭhá**, upside down
nhá, dhá, bathe	**uḍík, háḍ**, expectation
bárí, táki, window	**uttuṇ, sʌṭṭuṇ, kãi**, vomiting
bʌkkí, Jʌpphí, wrestling	**vʌkhrá, nəveklá**, separate
biṛá, gudám, bʌṭṭuṇ, button	**chek, morí**, hole
gocrí, Jogá, for	**cháli, bʌkrí**, goat
cu˜ḍ, guṭh, corner	**cúˆṛá, musʌlli**, sweeper
cokhá, bʌˆu˜, much	**gãilá, moklá**, loose
trímut, kuṛí, bãṭṛí, zál, zənáni, rʌn, wife	
gʌbhrú, xʌsum, khãu˜d, muṇus, husband	
viJáˆ, káJ, marriage	**dhúṛ, kheˆ**, dust
ḍhʌkkí, pʌddhí, steep	**kʌpṛe, ciṛe**, clothes
ḍáˆ, ghʌt, place	**lʌkh.á, kəsái**, butcher
kʌs, tʌp, buxár, fever	**Jussá, piˆḍá**, body
Játuk, choˆr, nʌḍhá, boy	**hur, lãˆ**, descend
toṛe, bhá˜ve˜, although	**sʌggo˜, hʌḍḍo˜**, moreover
kol, nál, near	**bhúá, phupphí**, father's sister
pʌṭ, reshum, silk	**mu˜dri, cháp**, ring
lúṇí, mʌkh.uṇ, butter	**khotá, khʌrká**, ass
kha˜ḍvá, pʌṭká, small turban	**phətúí, kuṛtí, váskʌṭ**, waistcoat
sák, nátá, relationship	**kúlá, lʌvvá**, soft
pio, lálá, father	**paiˆlo˜, moˆro˜**, first
girá˜, moˆṛá, village	**muk, nikhuṭ**, finished
pʌcchá˜, tirkálá˜, nimáshá˜, evening	**vedhái, mumárukh**, congratulations
pʌ˜ḍ, gʌḍhṛí, bundle	
mi˜tá˜, tarle, entreaties	**sʌrfá**, economy

sáluṇ, səlúṇá, lávuṇ, cooked curry **trel, pʌl,** dew
bhʌn, troṛ, break **tíkuṇ, tái˜,** upto
buḍḍhá, vʌḍká, oldman **cʌl, Jul,** go
vír, bhirá, brother **ve^lá, vá^˜dá,** free
trá^, ḍʌr, fear **vʌssul, piáJ,** onion
gá^l, Gāir, phʌkkuṛ, abuses **sʌttur, pʌṛdá,** Purdah
isbáb, sʌmián, goods **sʌbbe, hʌbbo, kul,** all.

VIII. 4. Accent

The existence of stress-accent in IA has been thoroughly discussed by Jacobi (Z. D. M. G. Vol, 47, pp. 574ff) and Grierson (Z. D. M. G. Vol. 49, pp. 398ff.). It is now a popular fact that the NIA closely follows the rules of the Sanskrit stress-accent (as distinct from the ancient musical accent). The only difference, to quote Grierson, is that the NIA does not usually throw the accent further back than the antepenultimate if the word ends in a long syllable. An important exception to the theory of penultimate accent has since been discovered by Dr. B. D. Jain (Phonology of Punjabi, pp. 93ff.) with regard to central languages. Another exception has been noted by Dr. Kakṭi (Formation and Development of Assamese, p. 82), in the Kamarupi dialect of Assamese.

The law of accent-shift, as propounded by Dr. Jain, applies to Awankari disyllabic words only. Compare examples and conditions in the present author's "Lahndi Phonetics".

In Awankari trisyllabic words, stress always shifts to or remains at the second syllable. Compare—

bá^ví, twenty two — but **bitá^lí,** forty two
báṭh, sixty two — but **bəvʌ˜Já,** fifty two
bʌtrí, thirty two — but **bəhattur,** seventy.two
bá˜nve, ninety two.
píná, he drinks — but **pivíná,** is drunk
ákhná, he says — but **əkhená,** he says
cʌnká, a kitchen square — but **cəbárá,** upper room, while P. **cʌmbárá**
ḍá˜g, staff — but **ḍə˜gorí,** a small stick
ghol, dissolve — but **ghulená,** he dissolves

pʌtthá, washer — but **pəthʌllá,** sitting cross-legged < pra-sthala.

Thus the rhythm of the language is kept. It is a very important exception to Dr. Jain's theory.

The following instances of this exceptional accent in trisyllabic words are interesting—

məl'hʌ̄rá, wife's maternal uncle, < mátul-shvashura-*
pit'rʌ̄^rá, wife's paternal uncle, < pitravya-shvashura*
kə'rená, he does, < Pk. karanta-
ukruṇ, to inscribe, and **uk'rená,** he inscribes, < utkirati
ubur, speak, and **ub'rāiná,** he calls, < udbrú-.

It can be safely said that stress in Awankari is more regular and stronger than in Punjabi.

VIII. 4. i. Influence of accent

The accent causes important changes in words. The preservation, weakening, elision, irregular change, as well as guṇa-vṛddhi of vowels rest upon this accent. Sometimes syllables also disappear under the influence of accent, which is predominantly expiratory in Awankari.

1. In stressed syallables, all OIA pure vowels remain unchanged. Compare—

Aw. **ḍhillá,** loose, < Skt. shithilaḥ, Pk. dhilla
Aw. **díyá,** lamp, < Skt. dípakaḥ, Pk. díyao
Aw. **gʌJJuṇ,** to thunder, < Skt. garjati
Aw. **gəldá˜vá,** fillet, < Skt. gala-dáman
Aw. **churá,** knife, < Skt. kṣuraḥ, Pk. chura-
Aw. **so^ṇá,** beautiful, < Skt. shobhana-, Pk. sohaṇa
Aw. **se^rá,** fillet, < Skt. shekhara-, Pk. sehara
etc., etc.

2. On the other hand in a pre-accentual and post-accentual position, vowels become extremely weak.

(a) Compare how the vowels are shortened in the following—
Skt. shyála-bhárya, > Aw. **səl'háJ,** brother-in-law's wife
Skt. ákásha-, > Aw. **ə'gás,** sky
Skt. túla-, cotton, Pk. túlia, > Aw. **tu'lái,** cushion

*Note how the dialect reduces words to trisyllabic sounds.

Skt. rátr-andhakaḥ, > Aw. rə'tá^ṇá˜,'night-blindness
Skt. dhányakaḥ, > Aw. **dhə'nel,** coriandar seed
Skt. nárikela, > Aw. **nə'rel** also **nəl'ger,** cocoanut
Skt. jamátr-, > Aw. **Jə'vái,** son-in-law
Skt. níroga, > Aw. **ni'roiá,** healthy.

(b) Awankari stress is so strong that this weakened vowel may take any neutral shape, thereby changing its quality as well. Compare—

PI. [u] > [ə] in Aw. **ədhroṛ,** undo, < uddharati and in Aw. **khədúí,** a rough needle, < kṣudra-súciká
PI. [ává], Pk. [o] > [ə] in Aw. **əmúdhá,** upside down, < ava-múrdhánaḥ
PI. [omu], Pk. [ou] > [əú] in Aw. **gəútur,** cow's urine, < go-mútra-
PI. [i] > [ə] in Aw. **ṭəṭí^rí,** a bird, < ṭiṭṭibhaḥ and in Aw. **shərí^˜,** a tree, < shiríṣa-
PI. [í] > [ə] in Aw. **dərokhá,** lamp-stand, < dípa-rakṣakaḥ
PI. [eva], Pk. [eu] > [i] in Aw. **diráṇi,** husband's younger brother's wife, < devara-rájn˜í
PI. [ai] > [i] in Aw. **virágá,** sad, < vairágya-
PI. [a] > [i] in Aw. **chiṭáki,** 1/16 of seer, < ṣaṭ ṭaṅká
PI. [á] > [i] in Aw. **miliár,** gardener, < málákár
PI.,[a] > [u] in Aw. **phulá^,** a tree, < palásha-
PI. [o] > [u] in Aw. **luhár,** blacksmith, < lohakáraḥ; Aw. **luhá˜ḍá,** iron vessel, < loha-bháṇḍa-.

The penultimate [u] in Awankari is an instance of the development of weak vowel in a post-accentual position. Compare—
Aw. **málun,** wife of a gardener, < málinί-
Aw. **vʌṇuJ,** trade, < váṇijyam
Aw. **kʌṇuk,** wheat, < kaniká, Pk. kaṇikká
Aw. **dhʌrut,** bottom, < dharitrί-.

The same has become neutral [ə] in Punjabi. Turner (§. 21) points out that a secondary stress was developed on certain syllables in later stages of Indo-Aryan languages, by which the short vowel was saved from being elided Awankari secondary stress, the existence of which has been noted before, has enabled these "unaccented" vowels to exist in some form or the other. Otherwise, compare examples below in which vowels have altogether disappeared for

want of stress.

(c) Elision of vowels and sometimes syncopation of syllables is due to the conditions of strong stress-accent in Lahndi dialects. Examples—

[á]

Aw. **ləmútrá,** longish, < lamba-uttaraḥ
əṭhtá^lí, 48, < aṣṭa-catvárimśhat
vʌṇJárá, tradesman, < váṇijya káraḥ
kháṛá, arena, < akṣaváṭakaḥ
kʌṛchí, ladle, < Pk. kaḍacchu.

[í]

ʌthrá, restless, < asthiraḥ
thiddá, greasy, < stimitaḥ
pʌrnívuṇ, to marry, < pariṇíyate
nixtá, came out, < nishkṛtaḥ
hʌrdul, turmeric, < Pk. hariddá
do^trá, daughter's son, < Skt. dauhitra-

[u]

kukṛí, hen, < kukkuṭiká
lukṛí, wood, < Sk. laguḍa
etc., etc.

Syllables have disappeared in the following examples—
Aw. **vith,** space, < vitastiḥ
Aw. **bhəṇíá,** sister's husband, < bhaginípatiḥ
Aw. **cəháṇi,** cremation place, < citádhána-
Aw. **curási,** 84, < caturashítiḥ
Aw. **ḍhillá,** loose, < ṣhithilaḥ
etc., etc.

(d) Note how nasality has disappeared before stress in the following words—
Aw. **pəcvʌ˜Já,** fifty five,
but **pʌ^˜Jí,** 25, **paĩ˜trí,** 35
Aw. **səbhál,** take, < Skt. sambháryati
Aw. **kuárá,** bachelor, < Skt. kumárakaḥ
Aw. **kəcnár,** a flowering tree, < Pk. kan˜canára.

In my opinion denasalization of the group [nasal + aspirated

plosive] was originally due to expiratory stress and then extended to all forms analogically. See III. 2. iii.

See also the chapter on 'Nasalization' (IV. 2.)

Retention of nasality in **pə˜Jtá^lí́**, 45, **dʌ˜dásá**, tooth-wood, and such other words is due to secondary stress in the dialects.

(c) Many of the unusual changes can thus be explained in the light of accent. On p. 347, Turner points out that sometimes a vowel in an accented syllable is "due to the influence of forms where the first syllable is unaccented." Thus corresponding to OIA likhati, Gujrati has lakhvu˜, to see, due to the influence of lakhávvu˜. Similarly [i] in Aw. **dhikká**, push.

Aw. **dhirkháṇ**, carpenter, < Skt. takṣan-
and in Aw. **miṇká**, bead, < Skt. máṇikyam
[u] in **Jhulká**, fuel, < jvalakaḥ
etc., etc.

(3) The existence of double consonants from PI single consonants has to be explained only in the light of accent. Compare—

Aw. **ḍhillá**, loose, Skt. shithila-
Aw. **sʌvvá**, 1 1/4, Skt. sapádaḥ, Pk. saváya-
Aw. **pəthʌllá**, sitting cross-legged, Skt. pra-sthala-
Aw. **ʌssí́**, eighty, Skt. ashíti.

The same effect has been noted by Pischel (p. 141) in Prakrit. Compare—

AMg. ujju, < ṛju, Jm. jitta, < jita
Ap. ketthu, < katha, Ap. hatta, < hata-.

(4) When occurring initially in a penultimate stressed syllable, a double consonant from Skt. or Pk. is singled or weakened, as in

Aw. **əkháṇ**, saying, < Pk. akkháṇa, Skt. ákhyána-
Aw. **nitáruṇ**, to clarify, < Pk. nitthárai, < Skt. nistáryati
Aw. **ənáJ**, corn, < Skt. annádya-
Aw. **utáṇá**, upside down, < Skt. uttánaḥ
Aw. **udhár**, debt, < Skt. uddhára-
Aw. **əṭháṭh**, 68, < Skt. aṣṭa-ṣaṣṭhí
Aw. **ucává˜**, that can be raised
Aw. **nimáṇá˜**, poor, < Pk. nimmanao.

IX

POSSIBILITIES including Obscurities and Desis of the Dialect

IX

POSSIBILITIES
including
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1. Possibilities

Sounds in a very large number of words cannot be definitely explained phonologically. An attempt is made to suggest possible origin of such sounds in Awankari. As already noted, analogy, contamination and phonetic-semantic extension play a large part in the formation of sounds in the dialect. It appears that in many words to be treated under the section in hand, all these phenomena have worked together and in certain cases so entirely deformed the words that they have now become unrecognizable.

These words* will be grouped under three divisions—

1. Words in which the sounds may have more than one explanation.
2. Words in which some fragments have a remote connection with PI, MI or NI.
3. Words which appear phonologically obscure to me.

(1)

Aw. ad̤, open, < PI √ad̤d̤, to attack, or √ad, to eat, or contami-

*These words are being considered to facilitate further research.

nation of both.

Aw. **ʌpuṛ,** reach, < utpatati, reaches, or < PI ápta, or < arpati MI appai, MI appa, -ṛ being an extensional suffix.

Aw. **á,** come, < √áp, (Turner), or < PI ává, to come, or < PI áyá, to come.

Turner's explanation appears to be less acceptable.

Aw. **áphur,** to be stuffed, < PI á-√sphaḍ (to tear), or < PI á-√sphaṭ (to be torn), or variation of Aw. **phul,** to swell, or **phur,** to throb.

Aw. **ukhuṛ,** to be uprooted, < PI ud-√skṛ, Pk. ukkhalia, or < PI ud-√khaḍ-, or < PI *utkhaṭati.

Aw. **uṛ,** bend, < PI ava-√ruh- (descend) or doublet with **uḍ,** fly.

Aw. **udhul,** abscond, < PI ud-√hval-, or < PI uddhar-, or < PI ud-√dal-.

Aw. **kuˆṛ,** to fret, < PI √kruddh, to be angry, or < PI √kuṭh, to torture, or PSM. of Aw. **kʌˆṛ,** boil.

Aw. **kʌˆṛ,** boil, < PI kaṭh-, to torture, Pk. kaḍhai, or < √kvath or doublet with **kʌṛ,** bind. Compare also H. kaṛá, hard.

Aw. **gʌḍ,** sow, or as < PI gaḍ, to hide, < Pk. gaḍḍa. Turner thinks it is < PI. gartaḥ, pit.

Aw. **cá,** lift, < PI. cávayati, goes, or < PI cáyati, drops.

Compare also cyutaḥ, fallen.

Aw. **cod,** copulate, < PI codayati, propels, or extension of √cyu, to flow. Compare also Aw. **cut,** anus.

Aw. **chʌp,** hide, < PI √chap-, to hide, or < PI skauti, covers.

Refer also to 'copnu' in Turner's Nepali Dictionary.

Aw. **Juṛ,** combine, < PI yuṭati, joins or < PI juḍati, goes, or further development of Aw. **Juṭ,** join, < PI yukta-.

Aw. **Jul,** go, < PI jval, to glow, or contamination of √jval, √jvar, or extension of √yu-, to separate, or P. S. M. of Aw. **Jhul,** blow, < PI. hval-, to go.

Aw. **Jhuggá,** a hut, may be extension of PI skauti, or P.S.M. of Aw. **Jhikká,** low.

Aw. **ʈʌḍ,** to open wide, < PI tard-, to hurt, or < PI trad-, to tear. Compare with PI √tad (to beat) or P.S.M. of Aw. **ʌḍ,** open.

Aw. **ʈabh,** be stuffed with water, < PI dṛp, to kindle, or dṛbh, to put together, or < MI tappa-, satiated, < PI tṛpta-; or may be onomatopoeic. Compare **ḍʌf,** a tabor.

Aw. **tetrá,** chequered, shows dissimilation of [c-] in PI. citrakaḥ;

or it may be an adjective from Aw. **tittur,** partridge, or it is a case of contamination between PI citrakaḥ, and PI. tittaraḥ.

Aw. **dʌṛ,** to bury, < PI dṛḍha-, firm, PI. daḍha, or < PI sthira, firm.

Aw. **dhrʌ̃gá,** body, < PI. dhaṭa-angakaḥ, or < Skt. dharaangakaḥ; or it may have connection with H. adharang, paralysis, or Aw. **ḍhʌ̃gá,** rope, or **dhĩgí,** by force.

Aw. **puJ,** suit, < PI prayuj, to be proper, or < PI púryate, is filled; or it is a doublet with Aw. **pug,** complete.

Aw. **pʌkkuṛ,** reach, < Skt. parka-, mixing, or < Pk. pakka-, reached. Compare also H. pakaṛ, catch.

Aw. **botná,** young of a donkey, may have connection with Skt. pota-, child, or with Per. búznah, young monkey; or it may be a contamination of both, or it is an onomatopoeic word.

Aw. **bukkul,** wrapping cloth, < Skt. valkala-, skin, but [u] in the initial syllable cannot be explained. It may be Indo-Aryanization of Per. baɢal, armpit. Its connection with Aw. **buk,** double handful, or Per. buɢcah, bag, may also be considered.

Aw. **búˆṇí,** handsell, < Skt. bahu-karaṇíya-, or Skt. bodhaní; or it is extended from Aw. **bʌˆvvuṇ,** to sit.

Aw. **mʌmṭí,** turret, may be connected with Skt. parvatíya-, hilly, or Pk. pambaṭi, or pamaṭi, or mamaṭi; or it may be derived from Per. bám, roof.

Aw. **viˆl,** dampness, may be compared with Skt. visarati, emits, vihvala, distressed, and vishítala, very cold.

Aw. **víṭ,** drop, may be derived from Skt. √ví, to throw, or from Skt. √viṭ, to curse.

Aw. **seˆlí,** rope, is P.S.M. of Aw. **seˆrá,** head garland, < Skt. shekhara-kaḥ. Compare IE siele.

Aw. **sʌrsá,** better, may be connected with Skt. sarasakaḥ or sarasyakaḥ, tasteful, or sadṛshaḥ, like; or it may be a Stsm. like Aw. **rʌssá,** soup, < Skt. rasaḥ, juice.

Aw. **hiṛ,** stiffening of penus, < Skt. hiṇḍate, wanders; or it may have connection with Aw. **ʌṛ,** entangle, or **ʌḍ,** open.

(2)

The following words are more obscure than those considered above—

Aw. **əmussá,** stale, may be considered with Aw. **ghəmus,** closed air, < Skt. gharma-uṣhman.

IX

Aw. **ʌdh-khʌṛ,** of advanced age, may be connected with Skt. ardha-skhalita-, half-shaken, or it may be a Bahuvrihi compound of Aw. **ʌdh-khʌṛá,** half-standing.

Aw. **əlʌmbá,** bonfire, may be compared with H. áláva, bonfire, < Skt. áláta-, Pk. áláya, burning wood.

Aw. **əvá˜ḍá,** spark, may be a prefixal extension of Aw. **ʌ˜ḍá,** egg, showing roundness in form.

Aw. **um,** ooze out, has possibly undergone samprasáraṇa of [va-] in vam, to pour out. Compare also Pk. ummagga, H. umaṛ.

Aw. **ukká,** at all, Skt. uktavá, saying (that's all) or ud+ka, high up.

Aw. **ká˜g,** flood, may be a doublet with Aw. **kʌs,** rivulet, like **ḍʌs,** and **ḍʌ˜g,** bite, and **ḍá˜g,** stick, < Skt. daṁsh, to bite.

Aw. **kháguṛ,** old milching cow, may be compared with Skt. ksháyika-, Pk. kháiga, eaten, **[ṛ]** is extensional suffix and post-stress effect has eliminated [í].

Aw. **gʌkkuṛ,** fruitstone, may be a case of deformity of Skt. guṭiká, a round pebble. Also consider P. sʌkkʌṛ, bark.

Aw. **giṭṭá,** a stone, P.S.M. of Skt. guṭiká. Also compare Aw. **giṭṭá,** anklet, **guṭṭí,** wrist.

Aw. **kholṛá,** hard, P.S.M. of **khāṁ^rá,** rough.

Aw. **kháḍí,** chin, Skt. kakṣha-, arm-pit, plus an innovated suffix.

Aw. **khāī^ṛá,** pursuit, may be connected with Skt. kṣhaya-, fall.

Aw. **khotur,** dig, scratch, may be compared with Skt. √skud, to cut, P. khuṭṇá, Aw. **khʌṭ,** dig.

Aw. **gheslá,** lazy, seems to be derived from Aw. **ghusávuṇ,** to shirk, or **ghʌs,** to rub.

Aw. **cu^nnú,** short-eyed, H. cundhiáná, also caká-cāṁ˜ndh, dazzled, may have been derived from Skt. caka+ku+andhakaḥ.

Aw. **cuáti,** a burning wood, may be considered with Skt. catuḥ-káṣhṭhí, but dentalization of -ṣhṭha- > -tth- is strange.

Aw. **cugh,** to suck, Skt. cúṣ-, to suck, may be a case of P.S.M.

Aw. **cúthí,** door-hinge. Compare Aw. **cúṛ,** dove-tail, Skt. sthitaḥ, stood, or cúḍah, coil of hair.

Aw. **chəkor,** a basket, Skt. chatvara-, bower. Also consider Aw. **chikká,** a hanging basket, and **chʌJ,** winnowing basket.

Aw. **chāṁḍá,** bark, may be derived from IE. sque, Skt. chádayati, covers. Compare Aw. **chil,** bark, **chúṇí,** a cover for pitcher, **chʌt,** roof, etc.

I.

Aw. **chik,** pull, shows metathesis of Skt. kṛcchra-, thinned, pulled down, or of kṛṣyate, is pulled. Also note H. khi˜cná, to pull.

Aw. **Jhʌk,** to be afraid, may be extended from Skt. √jhá, to meditate or Skt. √cak, to resist. Also consider H. jhijhakná, to hesitate, and caká-cāṁndh, dazzled.

It may be an onomatopoetic word.

Aw. **Jhol,** wash, Skt. √kṣhál-, to wash, or Skt. √kṣhar, to flow. Also note Aw. **Jhál,** a water-fall.

Aw. **ṭhʌk,** prepare a bridegroom, Skt. √stak, to strike against. Compare H. ṭheká, contract.

Aw. **ṭhʌr,** be cold, Skt. sthalati, to be firm (with cold), or Skt. sthara-.

Aw. **ḍʌg,** rough, may be P.S.M. of Punjabi **ḍig,** fall.

Aw. **ḍʌk,** shut, Skt. √ṭak, to bind. Consider H. ḍák, post, which stops at various places.

Aw. **ḍhʌ˜g,** entangle, Skt. √dhraṁs, to glean. Also compare Aw. **dhágá,** thread, **dhikká,** a push, and **dhi˜gí,** by force, and P. ḍhʌggá, a bull.

Aw. **ḍhʌkkí,** a steep place, appears to be an onomatopoetic word, connected with Aw. **dhrʌk,** fall, **dhʌs,** rush in.

Aw. **trʌkṛá,** strong, may be compared with Skt. tark, to shine, or takra-, churning stick (with instrusive **[r]**). **-ṛá,** of course, is extensional.

Aw. **toṛe,** although, may be compared with Awadhi tau < Skt. *tadi with dimunitive suffix.

Aw. **trʌḍḍá,** a mat, < Skt. tata- (spread) + extensional suffix **ḍá** (with **-r-** intrusive).

Aw. **trikkul,** neck. Consider Skt. trikká, three bones.

Aw. **dreguṛ,** or **drʌgguṛ,** a sandy bed, may be a contamination of Skt. dagdha-, burnt, and Persian reg, sand, plus extensional suffix.

Aw. **dhárun,** weight, may be a doublet of Aw. **dhʌṛá,** balance, < Skt. dhaṭaḥ, balance; or the word may be P.S.M. of Skt. dhara-.

Aw. **nihárá,** bier, < Skt. ni-áhárya-; because it is carried for disposal of the dead body.

Aw. **pin,** beg, < Skt. piṇḍa, lump (semantic extension). The beggar wants a lump of eatables.

Aw. **pacci,** ashamed, Pk. paccaya, < Skt. pratyaya-, faith; or

the word is from Skt. pasca-, after, or pascátápa-, repentence, used idiomatically.

Aw. **pʌ̃gur,** to grow, may be a denominative from Skt. prankura-, off-shoot.

Aw. **pʌlseṭí,** side-turning, Skt. paryasta-, scattered about, or párshva-, side. [l] is intrusive as in Aw. **pəlethuṇ,** flour, < Skt. paryasta-; or in Aw. **mʌlvesí,** piles.

Aw. **phuˆṇ̃d,** swell, may be compared with Pk. phuḍḍ.

Aw. **phis,** crushed, may be a doublet with H. P., pis, grind, < Skt. √pish; or it is onomatopoeic.

Aw. **phúˆṛí,** mat, Skt. sphára-, spread, or space.

Aw. **phʌddá,** teethless, may be considered with Skt. phalgudantakaḥ, one having meaningless teeth.

Aw. **bid,** compete, < Skt. vid, to know, or Skt. vivad, to debate.

Aw. **bíṛ,** set of teeth, has some connection with Skt. √vi, to eat, or víthi, street. Compare IE via, way

Aw. **búˆá,** door, may be taken from Skt. dvibáhukaḥ, one having two arms.

Aw. **bhʌggul,** blanket, may be a case of P.S.M. of Aw. **bukkul,** wrapping cloth, considered above.

Aw. **bhochuṇ,** scarf, Skt. bhúṣaṇa-, ornament.

Aw. **bhoḍá,** ugly forehead, may be compared with Skt. bhayapradaḥ, terrifying, and H. bho˜ḍú, stupid.

Aw. **bhiṭ,** be polluted, Skt. viṭaḥ, rogue, or viṣṭhá, excrement, or Aw. **bhiṛ,** closed.

Aw. **maī˜ḍhá,** mine, may be a cerebralized form of P. maī+dá, of me.

Aw. **máṛá,** bad, may be contamination of Skt. manda- and mard-, to crush, or maḍ-, to throb.

Aw. **mʌ̃ḍ,** thrust, may be a preservation of nasalized maḍ.

Aw. **much,** rob, has semantic connection with Skt. muṣ-, to steal, but Aw. **[ch]** from PI [ṣ] is inexplicable. Compare Pa. mucchati, curdles, < Skt. múrechati.

Aw. **rʌc,** be fed up, has remote semantic relationship with Skt. racyte, is made, Pk. raccai, is attached.

Aw. **lissá,** weak, may be P.S.M. of Skt. álasya-, laziness, or Skt. shliṣyati, clings to.

Aw. **lʌvvá,** delicate, may be traced to Pk. lavaia, but its parallel in Skt. is not obtainable. Consider Skt. lava-, particle, lavakita-,

Aw. **legá,** parasitical, may be compared with H. lagá huá, attached.

Aw. **lúḍá,** fondling, has some connection with Skt. √laḍ, loḍ, H. láḍalá; the vowel in the initial syllable is for P.S.M.

Aw. **loth,** dead body, is a contaminated form of some unknown word with Skt. lupta, hidden, or loṣṭha-, stone.

Aw. **vəlheṭ,** wrap, may be considered with Skt. samveṣṭayati, wraps, or H. lapeṭ.

Aw. **vʌṛ,** enter, has obscure relationship with Skt. √val, to turn, or √pat, to fall, Pk. vaḍ or paḍ. It may be a contamination of both.

Aw. **sʌddhur,** longing, < Skt. shraddhá, faith, but **[-r]** remains to be explained, if it is not extentional.

Aw. **soghá,** sound (adj.), H. sughaṛ, accomplished. Compare Skt. shvasta and oghaḥ, trustful mass?

Aw. **sʌkhṇá,** empty, may be considered with Skt. svakaḥ, by itself, Aw. **sʌkká,** one's own.

Aw. **sʌmmur,** collect, < Skt. √sambhar; cf. H. sambhál.

Aw. **sá˜sí,** a criminal tribe, may be connected with Skt. sáhasin, adventurer, or sannyásin, hermit.

Aw. **hedhá,** obstinate, may be connected with Skt. haṭha-, force, or heḍá, disregard.

Turner derives Aw. (Lahndi) **hʌg,** to ease oneself, from Skt. shakṛta-, excrement, may also be considered. Compare also Aw. **hʌg,** can, < Skt. shaknoti.

Aw. **hoṭá,** heart, has semantic relationship with Skt. hṛdaya-, Pk. hiaya. **-ṭa** may be an extensional suffix as in Aw. **bʌkroṭá,** kid, **bəroṭá,** a young tree, etc. But the vowel **[o]** is obscure.

As in **hʌg** above, **[h-]** in **hʌbhá,** < Skt. sarva, all, is a curio.

Consider Aw. **thígṛí,** rag, with H. cíthṛá; Aw. **líṛe,** clothes, with H. laṛí, series, Skt. lalita-, beautiful.

The nominal suffix in Aw. **surheJ,** father-in-law's house, < Skt. shvashura-, Aw. **pəkeJ,** firmness, < Skt. pakva-, and Aw. **nʌ̃geJ,** nakedness, < Skt. nagna-, is obscure.

Aw. **ḍorá,** deaf, may be a case of metathesis from Skt. vadhira- or it may be connected with Skt. dolaḥ, swing.

Preservation of Aw. **kitti,** how many, < Skt. kati, is interesting.

Deformity in Aw. **Jhú˜gá,** extra article, may be compared to that in Mar. jakera, surplus article.

[dh] from Pk. **[jh]** in Aw. **tudhá˜,** to you, requires explanation.

Compare Pk. tujjha, tujjhu, (Bloch, I-A. p. 146).

[ch-] from PI [ṣ-] > Pk. [ch-] in Aw. **che^~**, six is obscure.

Consider also Aw. **háḍ**, hope, with Skt. áshá.

[ĩ~] in Aw. **mĩ^~**, rain, < Skt. megha-, cloud, is unusual. The nasality in Aw. **pʌmbá**, toe, < Skt. padma, is funny. The links between Aw. **sáḍhú**, wife's sister's husband, and Skt. shyálívodhṛ, are missing.

[-bb-] in Aw. **kubbá**, hump-backed, < Skt. kubjakaḥ, shows that there was a doublet in Skt. kubraḥ. Compare H. kubṛá.

There is some kind of contamination in Aw. **sa~kuṇ**, co-wife, Skt. sapatní, Pk. savatti, H. P. saut.

The connection of Aw. **peṛá**, lump, Pk. peḍha with Skt. piṇḍaḥ is obscure.

As in **che^~**, six, **[ch-]** in Aw. **chikká**, a net-work, < [sh-] in Skt. shikyá is very unusual. It may be an incipient phenomenon.

PI [-shr-] > Aw. **[-thr-]** in **athrú**, tear, < Skt. ashru-, is not clear.

The phonological connection of Aw. **me^ṇá**, taunt, with Skt. álambha-.is doubtful. Compare Guj. meheṇe, reproaches.

Consider Aw. **hĩ~**, side of a bed-stead, with Skt. íṣá.

Turner connects Aw. **cho^r**, boy, with Skt. chorayati, abandons, Pk. choyara. But the semantic connection is doubtful. It may be better allied to Skt. kṣudra-, small.

For possibilities in linguistics, compare Beams (P. 120) on H. ṭikḍí, a small cake, which he connects with ṭíká, a mark on forehead.

(3)

I shall now place before you some riddles of Awankari phonology. Some may be solved as Desis of the dialect, while others may remain inexplicable obscurities.

Aw. **ā̃irá**, foundation, Pashto arah, but it has no parallel in Persian or Sanskrit.

Aw. **ukṛá~**, topsy-turvy, **kā̃iṛ**, news, may be derivative words.

Aw. **khəreḍhá**, healed part of the wound, P. khara~ḍ, H. kharaṅkh, dry.

Aw. **khim**, flash, may be onomatopoeic.

Aw. **khoṣṛe**, torn shoes, may be considered with **khus**, tear, < Skt. kuṣṇáti, tears.

Aw. **gʌthur**, regard, may be a contamination of Skt. gaṇ, to count, and sthira-, firm,

Aw. **ghʌt**, put, H. ghál.

The parallel of Aw. **cəmuṭ**, cling, H. camṭá, Pk. cimiṭṭa-, attached, is not obtainable in Sanskrit.

Aw. **chekuṛ**, end, may he considered with Aw. **chek**, < Skt. cheda-, hole.

Aw. **jívur**, absorb, Skt. √ju, to combine.

Aw. **Jhʌb**, to clean, may be connected with Onom. **Jhʌb**, at once, H. jhaṭ.

Aw. **ṭʌ~ḍ**, rob.

The connection of **ṭhʌḍḍía~**, small-pox, with Aw. **ṭbʌ^ḍḍá**, cold, is not very clear.

Aw. **ḍáci, Jáṭi**, she-camel, may have some substratum.

It is possible to connect Aw. **ḍhoḍhí**, bread, with Aw. **ḍhĩ^ḍ**, belly, < Skt. adhiṣṭha-.

Aw. **thiṛbá**, doublet with **thiṛ**, stagger, may be taken from Skt. asthira-.

Aw. **dáJá~**, reins, appears to have been borrowed from some unknown word in Persian or Turkish.

Aw. **dhoṛe**, hedge, may be derived from Skt. dhápayati.

The connection of Aw. **nəthúr**, a thorn in the nail, with Skt. nakha, nail, or naddha-, struck, is obscure.

Aw. **pú~g**, young ones, **po~gre**, insects, have remote connection with IE (pu), Sk. putra-, son.

Aw. **bərúṛí**, sore.

Aw. **re~ḍhí**, a kind of melon.

Aw. **se~vká~**, insects in excrement.

Aw. **milus**, camel-hair.

Aw. **víṇí**, wrist.

Aw. **sú^ṛí**, dung-cake.

Aw. **búṛá**, a pitcher with broken neck, may be compared with H. búṛhá, old, or P. bolá, deaf.

Aw. **muJhákhrá**, dawn, may be a semi-loan from H. mu^~-jhá~k, face-peeping.

I wonder if Aw. **murkíá~**, ear-rings, has any connection with Aw. **bulák**, nose-ring, Russian bulavka, clip.

Aw. **liph**, bend, may be an extension from Skt. lí, to melt. Compare H. lacakná.

The phonological connection of Aw. **viáJh**, bargain, with Skt. vyavahára- is obscure, It may be connected with Skt. vi-akṣ >

vi-ajh-.

Aw. **ha^ghí**, sieve, may be from Skt. bhagna-, divided. Sieve is a divider, no doubt. [bh-] has perhaps changed to [h-] as in bhavati.

Aw. **máriá¯**, or **máro¯**, for the sake of, is another riddle.

Notes—1. Many of the obscurities could be explained if a complete list of vocables of common use could be prepared in Sanskrit. But unfortunately a large number of vyaváharika words have died out. Scholars must reconstruct such words on the existing vocables in Indo-Aryan languages.

2. The majority of obscure words contain an initial cerebral. I sent a long list of such words to Prof. C. Sankran of the Deccan Research Institute, Poona, who is definite that they cannot be traced to Dravidian. Any other substratum, possibly in some Dardic languages, should be tried.

3. Most of the words, discussed in this section are specifically Awankari words. They may be innovations of the dialect itself, or they may be extensions of some relics of old words.

X

PERSIAN ELEMENT

X

PERSIAN ELEMENT

1. Consonants.
   - (i) Stops.
     - (a) Preservations.
     - (b) Modifications.
     - (c) Extinctions.
     - (d) Over-Persianization.
   - (ii) Nasals.
   - (iii) Liquids [r, l].
   - (iv) Fricatives.
   - (v) Semi-vowels.
2. Persian Consonant Groups.
3. Persian Vowels.
   - (i) Treatment of Short Vowels.
   - (ii) Treatment of Long Vowels.
   - (iii) ain and hamzah.
4. General Problems.
   - (i) Nasalization.
   - (ii) Metathesis.
   - (iii) Additions of Sounds.
   - (iv) Deformities.
   - (v) Possibilities.
   - (vi) Elision of Sounds.

(vii) Extensions.
5. Vowels in Contact.
6. The Effect of Awankari Stress.

X. 1. Consonants

X. 1. i. Stops

Most of the Persian stops have come down unchanged. Changes may be grouped up under the following heads—

(a) Modifications, especially of some unaspirated plosives into aspirated ones, and of some foreign sounds into native ones.

(b) Extinctions, generally in the intervocalic and final positions.

(c) Over-Persianization of certain plosives. For examples, in a number of words [k] was changed to [x], [g] to [ɢ], [J] to [z], and [p] or [ph] to [f], and so on.

Arabic [ʕ] and [ʔ], perhaps, never entered the Awankari tract. It appears that they had lost their consonantal quality in Persia. A friend of mine who went to Iran on an educational tour six years back told me that the Persian speakers seldom pronounce [ʔ] and [ʕ] as glottal sounds.

X. 1. i(a). Preservations

The majority of Persian loan-words in Awankari have preserved Persian stops. Examples are given below—

(1)

[k-]
kágut, paper, < káɢaz
ku^llá, a cap, < kuláh
kímxá, brocade, < kímxwáb
[-k-]
rəkáb, stirrup, < rakáb
vəkíl, lawyer, < wakíl
tʌkrár, argument, < takrár, repetition

[-k]
sá^ɳʌk, plate, < sahnak
cábuk, whip, < cábuk
nəzík, near, < nazdík.

(2)

[g-]
gi^ɪ iá˜, 1/16 of a yard, < girah
girmálá, a tool for plaster, < gilmálah
guzárá, time-passing, < guzárah
[-g-]
dʌrgá^, shrine, < dargáh
vigár, force labour, < bígár
ki˜grá, border, < kangúrah (minaret)
[-g]
rʌg, vein, < rag
tʌ˜g, annoyed, girth, < tang
nʌg, a pearl, number, < nag.

(3)

[c-]
cəbʌccá, cistern, < cáhbaccah
cugá˜ɖ, hockey, < caugán
cílum, smoking pipe, < cílm
[-c-]
kāi˜cí, scissors, < qāincí
bəgícá, orchard, < bágícah
pʌrcá, paper, < párcah (piece)
[-c]
xʌruc, expense, < kharc
pec, screw, < pec
kúc, pass away, < kúc

(4)

[J-]
Jussá, body, < juṣṣah
Jəgír, fief, < jágír
Jʌddí, inherited, < jaddí

[-J-]

JʌJ́ir, chain, < zanjír
siJ́áf, border of garment, < sanjáf
əJāib, wonderful, ᶜajáᵊib

[-J]

riJ, angry, < ranj (grief)
mɯJ, enjoyment, < mauj (wave)
iláJ, treatment, < ᶜiláj.

(5)

[t-]

tərík, date, < tárík̲h
tʌkmá, medal, < tamᵊah
tesá, adze, < teshah

[-t-]

kitáb, book, < kitáb
pistá, a small-sized pup, < pistah (a nut)
həmāití, supporter, < ʜamáyati

[-t]

əfát, mischievous fellow, < áfát
goshut, meat, < gosht
shishut, aiming a shot, < shist.

(6)

[d-]

dəvát, inkpot, < davát
dʌthːá, bundle, < dastah (handful)
duá, wedding, < duᶜá (blessing)

[-d-]

māidá, flour, < maidah
mʌdut, help, < madad
mədán, plain, < maidán

[-d]

bərúd, gunpowder, < bárúd
muṇiád, duration, < buniyád
návʌlud, childless, < láwald.

(7)

[p-]

pəlítá, fuse, < fətílāh
púdṇá, mint, < podínah
pʌrcúṇ, retail, < párcah (piece)

[-p-]

vápus, return, < vápis
pípá, barrel, < pípah
shipáĴí, soldier, < sipáhí

[-p]

top, cannon, < top.

(8)

[b-]

bákí, revenue, < báqí (remainder)
bucká, bundle, < buᵊcah
bádíá, a big cup, < bádiyah

[-b-]

ʌbro, respect, < ábrú
əbád, live, < ábád (populated)
ɯshbází, fire-work, < átishbází

[-b]

isbáb, goods, furniture, < asbáb (reasons)
kurub, honour, < qurb, nearness
pəJeb, ankl̀et, < pázeb.

X. 1. i(b). Modifications

[q] is most regularly changed to [k] in Awankari.

Initially

kuruk, confiscation, < qurq
káshuk, spoon, < qáshiq
kəzíá, botheration, < qazíyah (quarrel)
kurub, honour, < qurb (nearness)

Medially

bekul, fool, < be-ᶜaql
ikrár, promise, < iqrár
vákub, familar, < váqif

X

bhurká, veil, < burqaᶜ

Finally

firák, grief, < firáq (separation)

hak, right, < haq

lāik, able, < láᵊiq

ták, door, < Táq (arch).

Similarly (T) is changed to **[t]** in all loan-words from Persian.

Initially

təún, plague, < TáᶜUn

táne, taunts, < TaᶜnaH

tu^rá, end of turban, < Turrah

Medially

nutfá, seed, < nuTfah

totá, parrot, < TuTí

gotá, diving, < GoTah

Final

xat, letter, < khaTT

Galut, wrong, < GalT

kisht, instalment, < qisT.

It may be pointed out at once that [c] and [p] in Persian words are the most conservative sounds; and preservation, rather than modification of both is a very regular phenomenon in Lahndi.

Of the other sounds a common form of modification has been their aspiration. Aspiration was unknown to Persian and Arabic consonants. Awankari added aspiration on to them in the attempt to Indo-Aryanize foreign words. The following examples are interesting—

[k]

khaphaṇ, shroud, < kafan

khudur, ravine, < kurdar

mulukh, country, < mulk

[g]

ghá^, grass, < giyáh

[J]

Jhul, a horse-cloth, < jul

muláJhá, regard, < **mulá^Ja** (hypothetical), < muláhizah

[t]

muthá J, needy, < muHtáj

[d]

dhətúrá, a thorn-apple, < daTúrah

hāidrávadh, Hyderabad, < hāidarábád

[b]

bhurká, veil, < burqaᶜ

Jebhá, pocket, < Jeb

[p]

phəlúdá, rice flummery, < páludah.

Vocalization or devocalization is another form of change undergone by a number of Persian stops, as for example—

nigárá, tabor, < naqqárah

bədraG:á, guide, < badraqah

xaNgá^~, monastry, < khánqah

khurJín, saddle-bag, < khurcín

xafkí, anger, < khafgí

peshkí, in advance, < peshgí

decká, kettle, < deocah

məsít, mosque, < masjid

shāit, perhaps, < sháyad

kárzəbán, bugloss, < gáv-zubán

xətízá~, a name, < khadíjah.

In the above instances, vocalization or devocalization is due to assimilation. Sometimes for phonetic reasons, dissimilation is the main cause of devocal zation.

Jílut, binding, < jild (skin)

pəlít, impure, < palíd

kəlbút, a firm, < kálbút

baN~dkí, salutation, < bandgí,

Retroflexion of Persian [t] and [d] may be noted in the following—

trávuṭ, freshness, < Taráwat

ḍer, delay, < der

ḍol, bucket, < dalv.

The modification of [d] to **[ḍ]** is a regular phenomenon in some Lahndi dialects. The above words may be loans from such dialects.

The words **ḍhakkí,** a hillock, < dúk, and **ḍhol,** drum, < duhal have undergone double change. Aspiration was added after retroflexion.

The change of Persian **[b]** to **[v]** is specific in the following

Awankari words—

varuf, ice, snow, < barf
varfí, a sweetmeat, < bárfí
vədám, almond, < bádám
vigár, forced labour, < bígár.

This [v] further developed into the vowel [ú] in **shorúá,** soup, < shorbah.

The modification of [b] into [m] in the following instances is inexplicable :—

məlái, cream, < bálāi
xurmáni, apricot, < khúbáni.

In **mumárukh,** congratulation, it may be a case of assimilation of the intervocal [b] to the initial [m] in Persian mubárak.

Note—It may be observed that modifications of stops in medial position are quite common. Initial stops change rarely.

X. 1. i(c). Extinctions

Extinction of certain stops has resulted, through syncope and apocope, in the following words—

Jī̃d, life, < zindgí
ushbází, fire-work, < átish-bází
dasxat, signature, < dast-khat
məzúr, labourer, < mazdúr
kímxá, brocade, < kímkhwáb.
batur, worse, < badtar
nəzík, near, < nazdík
murgái, water-fowl, < murgábi
tələ, tank, < táláb

X. 1. i(d). Over-Persianization

We have so far seen how Awankari has been trying to Indo-Aryanize certain Persian consonants. The opposite tendency of substituting fricative Persian sounds where pure stops existed is also remarkable in the following—

[x] in **mulux,** country, < mulk
xafxán, melancholia, < khafqán
vaxut, hard time, < waqt, time

təbáx, a tray, < tabáq.
[G] in **Guláb,** rose, < guláb
ləGám, bridle, < lagám.
[z] in **məzāūr,** keeper of a monastery or shrine, < majáwar
fazrí, dawn, < fajr
burzí, turret, < burj
kəzává, a camel's cradle, < kacáwah
xətízā̃, a name, < khadíjah.
also note [z] in
kuzrut, nature, < qudrat
azmít, manhood, < ádmíyyat
xizmut, service, < khidmat.

X. 1. ii. Nasals

[m] and [n] are the two nasals known in Persian loan-words. As a rule, [m] has remained unchanged.

Initially, as in
ma^lum, ointment, < marham
muzerá, farmer, < mazárí'ah
məzāūr, keeper of shrine, < majáwar
Medially, e.g.,
mamá, teat, < mamah
təmáshá, fun, < tamáshah
hərámí, bastard, < harámí
Finally in
zulum, cruelty, < zulm
ləgám, bridle, < lagám
cilum, smoking pipe, < cilm

In sporadic cases the change of [m] to [v] through hypothetical [v̄] is quite in conformity with the Indo-Aryan tendency. But it appears that by the time Persian began to be recognized that tendency had practically died. Compare—

Indo-Aryan	*Persian*
dáminí, rope, > Awan. **dávuṇ;**	razámand, agreeable, > Awan. **rəzáva^d**
shyámala, dark, > **sávul** (greenery),	ámdaní, < **á^vdí,** income.

[ṇ] in **balGuṇ,** phlegm, < balgam is due to misconception of

X

[m] as [ṇ]. Also cf. **nisrí,** sugar, < misrí.

[n]

Persian [n] is usually preserved.

Initial

neċá, a huqqa-snake, < naycah

nimáz, prayer, < namáz

Medial

Gunáˆ, sin, < gunáh

zənúná, womanish, < zanánah

Final

zʌn, suspicion, < zan.

medán, plain, < maydán.

In a number of words [n] has changed to [ṇ] in medial and final positions. The only explanation of this modification can be this: The change of single [n] into [ṇ] is a regular phenomenon in Awankari. The Persian words which entered the tract during the period of that change have been affected and words that entered later when the tendency had died out have retained their [n] in tact.

Medial [n] > [ṇ]	Final [n] > [ṇ]
muṇshí, clerk, teacher, < munshí	**mʌṇ,** maund, < man
muṇiád, foundation, < buniyád	**əmáṇ,** deposit, < amánat
jəráṇá, friendship, < yaránah.	

X. 1. iii. Liquids [r, l]

Preservation, again, is the most common characteristic of liquid consonants from Persian. Examples—

[r]

Initial

rəvāit, custom, < raváyat

reshum, silk, < resham

Medial

fərár, absconding, < farár

cʌrxá, spinning wheel, < carkhah

Final

xátur, sake, < khátir (heart)

pír, saint, < pír (old)

shikár, hunting, < shikár.

[l]

Initial

lʌtːá, linen, < lattah

luˆgí, a turban, < lung

lāik, worthy, < láɁiq

Medial

məlʌˆg, a care-free man, < malang

dəlál, broker, < dalál

səlám, salutation, < salám

Final

dil, heart, < dil

həlál, lawful, < ʜalál

məzál, power, < majál.

Sometimes, as in I-A words, [r] is changed to [l] and [l] to [r] in, perhaps, all Indo-Aryan dialects. Examples—

[r] > [l]	[l] > [r]
dálcíní, cinnamon, < dár-cíní	**girmálá,** plastering tool, < gilmálah
mʌˆlum, ointment, < marʜam	**regmár,** sandpaper, < regmál.

Retroflexion of [r] is also noticeable in some Persian words in Awankari, as in

muṛdá, dead body, < murdah

mʌṛud, man, < mard

kuṛtí, waist coat, < kurtá.

Medial and final [l] is regularly changed to [l] in the speech of Awans proper. See Chap. IV of our 'Lahndi Phonetics'.

The change of [r] to [n] in **mʌnsíˆá,** elegy, < marṣiyah and of [l] to [n] in **nimmú,** lemon, < límú, and **návʌlud,** childless, < láwald, is unusual.

The following are the cases of extinction of [r]—

gustán, grave yard, < goristán

kárvái, work, < kárrəváɁí

curáˆiá, crossing of roads, < cahár-ráh

kuráˆ, bad way, < korá-ráh.

X. 1. iv. Fricatives

Fricative sounds in Persian were quite numerous. Of these [s], [sh] and [h] already existed in I-A. But [sh] had disappeared in M-1 and therefore for Awankari it was a new sound from Persian. [sh] in Indo-Aryan words is rare and wherever it occurs it is due to the influence of Persian [sh].

Persian [s] is regulary [s] in Awankari and it will be treated along with the latter in the following pages.

Examples of [s] > [s]

Initial

səbúṇ, soap, < sábun
sʌbur, patience, < sabr

Medial

ʌsul, real, < asl
khʌsí, castrated, < khassí

Final

xəlás, discharged, < khalás, free.

[ṣ]

Persian [ṣ] is also usually changed to [s] in Awankari, except in the single example of ṣúm, garlic, > **thúm.** Compare—

ṣabút, proof, > **səbút,** viráṣut, bequest, > **virásut,**
váraṣ, heir, > **várus.**

[s] and [sh] are very simple consonants. They are either preserved or [s] is changed to [sh] and *vice versa.*

Examples of preservations are—

[s]

Initial

sāit, auspicious hour, < sáᶜit
sərá˜, inn, < saráy
surxí, brick-dust, < surkhí

Medial

mudʌrsá, school, < madrassah
rʌsud, rations, < rasad
məsít, mosque, < masjid

Final

bʌs, enough, < bas
kus, female private part, < kus
tarus, pity, < tars (fear).

[sh]

Initial

shāit, perhaps, < sháyad
shábus, bravo, < shábásh
shorá, nitre, < shorah

Medial

mushál, torch, < mashᶜal
nishán, sign, < nishán (flag)
toshá, present, < toshah

Final

bʌxshísh, alms
pec-kʌsh, screw-driver
rəvísh, way, custom, < ravish.

The following are some examples of [s] > [sh]

Initial

shupáˆí, soldier, < sipáhí
shurnáˆí, clarionet, < surnáy
sháˆí, ink, < siyáhi
shúped, white, < safed

Medial

rəshíd, receipt, < rasíd
musháfur, traveller, < musáfir
ushman, sky, < ásmán

Final

nəmúsh, show, < námús, also cf. numáish.
ʌrzínəvísh, petition writer, < ᶜarzí-navís.

With the above may also be compared [s] and [ṣ] also changing to [sh] in

ʌshkrá˜, after all, < akṣar
bāu˜sh, discussion, bet, < bahaṣ
ám xásh, common people, < ᶜám khás
mʌshkrá, joker, < masakhrah
ʌshráf, gentleman, < sarráf.

[sh] > [s] in the following

Initially

səbáˆlá, bestman, < sháhbálá
silvár, trousers, < salwár
sísá, mirror, < shíshah

Medially

tesá, adze, < teshah
sísá, mirror, < shíshah

Finally

shábus, bravo, < shábásh.

Persian [h] and [ʜ] both become **[h]** in Awankari. Their development in different positions of words has been different.

(1) Initially they are always **[h]** as in

həlál, legitimate, < ʜalál **həzár,** thousand, < hazár
hílá, effort, < ʜílah (excuse) **hibbá,** grant, deed, < hibbah
hərám, unlawful, < ʜarám **hosh,** sense, < hosh.

(2) Medially, in a stressed position, they are **[h]**. They begin a syllable then.

muharrum, moharram, < muʜarram
bəhánã, excuse, < bahánah
vəhúsh, vulgur, < vaʜashí
nihárí, breakfast, < nihár(í).

(3) When they do not begin a syllable, they disappear, medially as well as finally, leaving a tone on the preceding vowel.

Medially	*Finally*
mo^r, pound, < muhar	**səlá^,** consultation, < saláʜ
zɜ̃ɜ̃^r, poison, < zahar	**thɜ̃ɜ̃^,** bottom, < tah; also cf. Skt. tháha
ká^r, calamity, < qahar	**niká^,** wedding, < nikáʜ
sʌ^í, well, < saʜíʜ, right.	

(4) In a large number of words, [h] or [ʜ] becomes so weak in an unstressed final position that it is lost in Awankari, especially when it follows a consonant. Compare—

dəshúre, Moharram day, < daʜ ʿashúre
hátá, compound, < iʜátah
tʌsbí, string of, < tasbíʜ, beads
zənúná, effeminate, < zanánah
gunágár, sinner, < gunáhgár

Disappearance of intervocalic [h] in **áste,** slowly, < ahistah, is irregular.

In compound words, [h] disappears in sháh, of sháhtút, sháhzádah.

Awankari **[z]** < Persian [z], and other Arabic [z] sounds.

zát, caste, < zát **lʌztá̃,** enjoyment, < lazzat
əváz, sound, < áwáz **zəbán,** word, < zubán

rází, satisfied, < rází **ziddí,** perverse, < ziddí
nəzír, sight, < nazr **zʌn,** suspicion, < zan.

Awankari has also borrowed **[f]**, **[x]** and **[G]** from Persian. But it appears that in the early period of Persian influence, they could not be properly articulated. They were then modified into IA sounds: **[f]** was pronounced as **[ph]**, [kh] as **[kh]**, [z] as **[J]** and **[G]** as **[g]**. There is no doubt that these fricatives are now fully established in the dialect, yet there are words in which the fricatives have never been heard except in the speech of literate persons. The modification into stops is universal in the following examples—

phirní, flummery, < firní
phaĩ̃slá, judgment, < faislah
phəláṇá, so and so, < fulán
khʌphuṇ, shroud, < kafan
phətú^í, waist-coat, < fatúhi.

[kh]

khʌṛbáJí, sommersault, < kharbázı
khurJín, a saddle bag, < khurcín
khurmáṇí, apricot, < khúbání
khoJá, merchant, < khwájah, also Aw. **khodá,** beardless
síkh, bar, < síkh
khʌrká, ass, < khar
khʌsmáṇá̃, responsibility, < khasmánah.

[z]

gʌJ, yard, < gaz
Jəmúr, pincers, < zanbúr (wasp)
búJo, monkey, < búznah
báJá, goal, < bází (victory)
Jírá, cumin seed, < zírah
Jəlebí, a sweetmeat, < zalíbá
sáJí, drummer, < sáz (organs).

[G]

bág, embroidery, < báG; cf. Aw. **báG,** garden
cuglí, back-biting, < cuGlí
murgáí, water-fowl, < muroábí
deg, cauldron, < deG
dərogá, Superintendent, < dárogah
gu̇̃ḍá, rascal, < (sar-) Gunnah.

It may be noted that of these four sounds two are voiced and two are breathed consonants. The breathed consonants [f] and [kh] after having changed to aspirated plosives **[ph]** and **[kh]** respectively were deaspirated at some later stage in a number of sporadic cases. Examples are—

[f] > hypothetical **[ph]** > **[p]** in

párkhatti, a deed of discharge, < fárag-khatti

səpárush, recommendation, < sifárish

shuped, white, < safed

pík, funnel, < kíf (by metathesis).

[x] > hypothetical **[kh]** > **[k]** in

bashkí, a title, < bakhshi

batak, duck, a water-pot, < batakh

kəvázá, platform for building, < khwázah

ikbár, newspaper, < akhbár

káluk, soot, < kálakh.

There are also examples showing vocalizing of this modified **[p]** in

váxub, familiar, < wáqif

munsub, judge, < munsif

ashbur, a name, < Ashraf (metath.).

On the other hand, **bucká**, bundle, < buccah and **cúcá**, chicken, < cúzah ; **kirmcí**, crimson, < qirmazí are cases of devocalization of **[c]** and [z] coming through [g] and [J] respectively.

The most important phenomenon has been the preservation or adaptation of these Persian fricatives in Awankari. Although, as noted in the introduction, Hindus (more particulary the women) still employ stop for fricatives, yet the majority of Awankari speaking people use Persian fricatives very regularly. Of these, [f] is most regularly **[f]** in the speech of Awans ; next in order comes [z]. **[kh]** is usually heard as **[kh]** in the speech of about 50% people. Yet there is a large number of words in which [kh] is invariably **[x]** in the speech of all Awankari speakers. **[c]** is found in about two dozen words so far discovered.

Examples—

[f]

Initial

fatiá, victory, < fatah

fazur, dawn, < fajar

fasul, crops, < fasl

Medial

lifáfá, envelope, < lifáfah

káfur, infidel, < káfir

nefá, upper part of trousers, < nefah

Final

sinJáf, fringe, < sanjáf

varuf, ice, < barf

kaluf, dye, < kalaf

[z] including Arbic z sounds

Initial

zəgál, rust, < zang

zəbání, oral, < zabání

zid, perverseness, < zidd

zulum, cruelty, < zulm

Medial

rezá, cloth, < rezah (piece)

algarzí, idleness, < carz (selfishness)

uzú, ablution, < wuzú

faizá, a name, < fayz

Final

kəmíz, shirt, < qamíz

báz, hawk, < báz

karuz, debt, < qarz

hafiz, blindman, < háfiz.

[kh]

Initial

xat, card, < khatt

xaund, husband, < kháwand

xənzír, swine, < khanzír

xár, rivalry, < khár (thorn)

Medial

Jaxní, broth of meat, < yakhni

baxía, stitch, < bakhiyah

əxír, final, < ákhír

baxtaur, a name, < bakhtávar

X

Final

shex, covert, < shaykh (title)
dozux, hell, < dozakh
jʌx, cold, < yakh
shox, fast (colour), < shokh.

[G]

Initial

Gāir, abuse, < ɢayr (other)
Gāibí, secret, < ɢaybí
Gəríb, poor, < ɢaríb

Medial

bəGícá, orchard, < baɢícah
kʌlGí, crest, < kalɢí
bʌlGuṇ, phlegm, < balɢam

Final

dáG, spot, < dáɢ
báluG, major, < bálɪɢ
báG, garden, < báɢ

In this connection please also read the note under "Over-Persianization" at p. 164.

The change of [f] to [x] in **muxut,** < muft, free of cost, and **binʌxshá,** < binafshah is very unusual.

Persian [z] was, perhaps, clearly noted by the Awankars and the words like **vədífá,** scholarship, < wazífah, **nádur,** reader, < názir and **təvít,** amulet, < tᵊavíz show that an attempt was made to imitate it; but as noted above it was either confused with [z] or with [d] or [t].

The connection between Per. sib, rope and Awan. **chib** (skein) and Per. juft (couple), and Awan. **Jʌst** (even number), is slightly obscure.

X. 1. v. Semi-vowels

The two semi-vowels [j] and [v] have preserved their semi-vocalic quality initially, as in

jálá, O God, < yá-allah **váfur,** spare, < váfur
jumun, beauty, < yamun **vʌxut,** bad time, < vaqt

jəráṇá, friendship, < yáránah
jád, memory, < yád **vʌrdush,** exercise, < varazish.

In the interior of a word [-v-] is again retained when it begins a stressed syllable, as for example, in

díván, a title, < díwán
həlvái, confectioner, < ʜalwáɔí
nəvísh, writer, < navís.

[v] in an unstressed medial position and finally disappears.

mʌulí, priest, < maulvi
suál, question, begging, < sawál
de, giant, < dew.

In **təbelá,** stable, < ᴛavelah. [v] has appeared as voiced [b]. This is in harmony with the I-A tendency noted earlier.

uzú, ablution, is a case of aphaeresis of [v] in Per. vuzú.

Persian [y] regularly disappears in intervocalic and final positions. Intervocally, however, it leaves a glide behind. Compare—

Medial	*Final*
hushiár, clever, < hoshiyár	**sərá˜,** inn, < saráy
dʌriá, river, < daryá	**rá,** opinion, < ráy
tiár, ready, < tayár	**Já,** place, < jáy
etc.,	etc.

Note—The question of [w] with [x], had already been settled in Persian. It is usually never heard in loanwords in Awankari, e.g.,

xáb, dream, < xwáb
xá^ məxá^, without purpose, < khwáh makhwáh
khoJá, merchant, < khwájah
tʌnxá^, pay, < tankhwáh.

In **khuár,** ruined, < khwár it is retained for Phonetic semantic differentiation against **xár,** rivalry, < xár.

X. 2. Persian Consonant Groups

Old Persian and Middle Persian did have initial consonant groups. But it appears that when Persian language came to India, it had no consonant groups in the beginning of words. Modern Persian does not tolerate conjunct consonants initially, and in Awankari no example has so far been found.

A homorganic group (i.e. a double consonant) may occur medially

or finally in Persian. The final double consonant has become a short (single) consonant in Awankari, as in

kʌd, size, < qadd — **rʌb,** God, < rabb
sʌn, year, < sann — **zid,** perverseness, < zidd
hʌd, limit, < ʜadd — etc., — etc.

A medial homorganic group has been preserved, subject to the provisions discussed in our "Lahndi Phonetics".

mukʌdmá, law-suit, < muqaddimah
dʌfá, be away, < dafaᶜ
muddá, (stressed), duration, < muddaᶜá

Heterorganic groups at the end of words have all been split up in Awankari. e.g.

shukr, thankfulness, > **shukur** — umr, > **umur,** age
mushk, scent, > **mushuk** — jild, > **Jilut,** binding
rakht, skin, > **rʌxut,** hide — mard, > **maṛud,** man.

But the same groups in medial position have been retained. Compare with the above—

shukráná, money for some good — **umrú,** a name
mushkí, a black horse — **Jʌltí,** at once, < jaldí
bʌxtí, a name, < baxt, luck — **mʌrdává˜,** male.

The reason for the retention of medial groups is simple. In this position, their elements are easily divided between syllables. Thus **dostí,** friendship, = dos-ti in syllabication. In fact in medial position they are not genuine conjuncts, their being a tangible pause between the elements.

In a number of words, assimilation of the Persian consonant groups on the Prakrit or NI-A model has taken place. For example, Per. [st] and [sht] have changed to [tth] or [ṭṭh] in—

dʌtthá, bundle, < dastah (handful)
kuṭṭhá, killed, < kushtah
tháṇedár, police officer, < ástánahdár
suthuṇ, trousers, < susthan.

Also note the group nasal + stop assimilated in

səmosá, a salt pastry, < sambosah
təmácá, slap, < ʈapancah
tʌmmú˜, tent, < tambú.

X. 3. Persian Vowels

Changes in vowels are larger than in consonants. Stress-shift, syllabication, phonetic economy, grammatical differentiation, and Awankari tendencies—all combine to bring about a large number of changes in vowels. Moreover, sonority of vowels is less prominent than that of consonants. Hence the listeners care more for the latter than for the former.

It is in the vowels that we find certain specific features of the dialect.

X. 3. i. Treatment of short vowels

Persian short vowels [a], [i] and [u], like many other sounds, were not new to Awankari. Hence preservation of these sounds is quite regular, especially in monosyllabic words.

Examples—

[ʌ]

bʌr, width, < bar — **dʌm,** enchantment, < dam (breath)
pʌr, feather, < par — **gʌJ,** yard, < gaz.

[i]

Ji˜d, life, < zind(gí) — **dil,** heart, desire, < dil
cik, chik, < cic — **Jin,** evil spirit, < jinn.

[u]

kul, all, < kul — **pul,** bridge, < pul
sum, hoof, < sum — **Jhul,** a coarse cloth, < jul.

In disyllabic words they are preserved in stressed syllables, as—

[ʌ] in

ʌ˜gúr, grape, < angúr
ʌsul, root, real, < asl
kʌlí, tin, < qalaᶜí
bishak, doubtless, < beshak.

[i] in

inám, prize, < inaᶜám
zikur, mention, < zikr
nishán, mark, < nishán
fikur, anxiety, < fikr

[u] in

bilkul, entirely, < bialkul
shurú, beginning, < shuruᶜ
kulfí, ice-cream, < qulfí
bulbul, nightingale, < bulbul.

The tendency to preserve the short vowel in an accented syllable, i.e. the first syllable of a disyllabic word is so strong that in a number of words the vowel is fortified by a prothetic **[h]**. Examples—

afsos (sorrow), > **hʌmso˜s**
anjír (fig), > **hʌ˜Jír.**

In the pre-stressed position of a disyllabic word, a short vowel is further shortened in value. Thus

[ʌ] > [ə] in

əsíl, docile, < asíl
ənár, pomegranate, < anár
bəhár, enjoyment, < bahár

[i] > [i] in

nishán, mark, < nishán
inám, prize, < inaᶜám
kitáb, book, < kitáb.

[u] > [u] in

gumán, pride, < gumán
shurá^í, a pitcher, < surá**h**í
unáb, jujube fruit, < ᶜunáb.

In the post-stressed position of a disyllabic word, a short vowel does not end a word. It occurs only in the middle position of the last syllable, when it is changed to the characteristic Awankari **[u]**. Compare—

kʌrud, knife, < karad
bábut, regarding, < bábat
xʌbur, news, < khabar
mukur, refuse, < munkir
koshut, attempt, < koshish
málush, massage, < málish.

It has been stated that in trisyllabic words, Awankari stress falls on the medial syllable. Preservation or modification of a short vowel in a trisyllabic word depends on its position. In the medial position it is preserved, as

[ʌ] in

shikʌ˜Jbí, a drink, < shikanjbín
cəbʌccá, cistern, < cáhbaccah

[i] in

shʌrmi˜diá˜, ashamed, < sharmindah
cugirdí, all round, < cahár-gardí.

[u] in

bəzurgí, greatness, < buzurgí
nəmukur, refusing, < munkir.

In the first syllable of a trisyllabic word, it is reduced as in a disyllabic word. Examples—

[ʌ] > [ə] in

səmosá, salt pastry, < sambosah
cərʌkhṛí, a wheel, < carkhí

[i] > [i] in

nishánṇá, aim, < nishánah
girmálá, plastering tool, < gilmálah.

[u] > [u] in

muthájí, needfulness, < muhatájí
muhárí, heap, < muhárah (barn).

In the final syllable it is reduced to **[u]** as in disyllabic words. Compare—

həJámut, shave, < hajámat
məhʌmmud, a name, < muhammad
nəbáluk, of age, < nábálig
shəráfut, gentlemanliness, < sharáfat
musháfur, traveller, < musáfir
shəpárush, recommendation, < sifárish.

Phonetic economy is further evinced in instances where the short vowel disappears altogether, as

[a] by aphaeresis or syncopation in

nárdáṇá, pomegranate seed, < anárdánah
rʌmzán, a name, < ramzán
ádmí, man, < ádamí
ziásti, excess, < ziyádatí.

[i] by aphaeresis or syncopation in

zámní, surety, < záminí
láJ, cure, < ᶜiláj
lʌt, vice, < ᶜillat
fátá, a prayer, < fátihah
kʌlmá˜, holy words, < kalimah.

[u] is not found frequently in Persian words. **káblí,** of Kabul, may be compared with Persian kábulí.

Sometimes, change is due to contamination or mis-understanding as

X

[i] > [í] in

rəvísh, custom, < ravish

bʌxshísh, charity, < bakhshish.

[i] > [e] in

sebá, a thread, < sib

[u] is lengthened in

kəlbút, a frame, < kálbud.

The above are just sporadic examples of irregular change. Short vowels of Persian behave much better than the long vowels which we shall discuss in the next section.

Before a [ᶜ] or a final [h], [a] is lengthened, in compensation for the loss of [ᶜ] or [h], as in

dává, law-suit, < daᶜvay

lál, jewel, < laᶜl

máne, meanings, < maᶜní

zummá˜, Friday, < jumaᶜah

mʌ^nná˜, forbid, < manaᶜ

bʌ˜dá, man, < bandah (slave)

vicárá, helpless, < becárah.

X. 3. ii. Treatment of Long Vowels

[á], [í], [ú], [e] and [o] are the five long vowels in Persian and with these sounds the Awankari speakers were already familiar.

They are usually preserved in normally accented monosyllabic words. Examples—

[á]

jád, memory, < yád

táb, courage, < táb

rá^, way, < ráh

ám, common, < ᶜám.

[í]

tír, arrow, < tír

pír, saint, < pír (old)

zín, saddle, < zín

dín, faith, < dín.

[ú]

súf, black cloth, < súf

súd, interest, < súd

shúm, miser, < shúm

tút, mulberry, < tút.

[e]

tez, sharp, quick, < tez

pesh, in front, < pesh

mekh, nail, < mekh.

[o]

mom, wick, < mom

ol, custom, < awwal (?)

zor, power, < zor

top, cannon, < top

etc., etc.

In disyllabic words, they are preserved when stressed, as in

[á]

ákhur, trouble, < ákhir (end)

xəráb, bad, < kharáb

ushmán, sky, < ásmán

ishná, friend, < áshná (known).

[í]

xʌnzír, swine, < khanzír

phítá, tape, < fítah

təríkh, date, < tárikh

hílá, effort, < ʜílah.

[ú]

bərúd, gunpowder, < bárúd

kənún, law, < qánún.

[e]

peshí, afternoon, hearing < pesh

tesá, adze, < teshah

reshum, silk, < resham

shuped, white, < safed.

[o]

kofte, a meat preparation, < koftah

goshá, conference, < goshah (corner)

tobrá, bag, < tobrah.

In trisyllabic words, again, they are preserved in the medial syllable, which, by the way, is usually stressed.

[á]

xushámdí, flatterer, < khwushámadí

pətásá, a sugar prep., < batáshah

shəráfut, gentlemanliness, < sharáfat.

[í]

məhínà, month, < mahínah

dálcíní, cinnamon, < dárcíní

həlímí, humbleness, < ʜalímí.

[ú]

dəshúre, Moharram, < dahᶜáshúre

shəkúfá, new event, < shagúfah (bud)

məmúlí, ordinary, < maᶜmúlí.

[e]

həvelí, an old house, < ʜavelí

ishukpecá, a creeper, < ishqpecán

[o]

dərogá, officer, < dárogah

firozú, a name, < fíroz sháh

təbelá, stable, < Tavelah. **bihoshí,** senselessness, < behoshí.

Accent-shift reduces the quantity of long vowels in preaccented syllables, as

[á] in disyllabic	[á] in trisyllabic
ərám, rest, < árám	**bərání,** rainy, wild, < bárán
əbro, honour, < ábrú	**ərástá,** recovered, < árástah (decorated).
səbún, soap, < sábún	
Jədád, property, < jádád.	

[í] in disyllabic	[í] in trisyllabic
imán, faith, < ímán	**nimáshá˜,** early evening, < nim-i-shám
bimár, ill, < bímár.	**vigárí,** on forced labour, < bígár.

[ú] in disyllabic	[ú] in trisyllabic
pulád, steel, < fúlád	**rumálí,** a loin cloth, < rúmál
ruzgár, occupation, < rúzgár.	**Jushá˜dá,** boiled medicines, < júshándah.

[e] in disyllabic	[e] in trisyllabic
bivʌs, helpless, < bebas	**bidáná˜,** a sweetmeat, < be-dánah
bishʌk, doubtless, < be-shak	**bigáná˜,** other's, < begánah.
pisháb, urine, < pesháb.	

[o] in disyllabic	[o] in trisyllabic
pushák, dress, < poshák	**ruzíná,** daily, < rozánah
gustán, graveyard, < goristán.	**ruzgárí,** employed condition, < rúzgár (world).

Post-stressed long vowels generally occur at the end of a word. For the value of final vowels see the "Lahndi Phonetics".

In compound words, again, when the stress is on the second member of the compound, vowels in the prestressed syllable or syllables are shortened.

[á] and [e] in **tháṇedár,** police officer, sound like [ʌ] and [i] respectively.

Similarly [á] and [í] in **rází'ná˜vá˜,** compromise, < rázínámah
[ú] in **kʌdú'kʌs,** an iron frame, < kadú-kash
[e] and [á] in **nezá'bází,** tent-pegging, < nezah bází
[o] and [e] in **roze'dár,** one keeping fast, < rozahdár.

The following are some of the irregular modifications, some due to mis-understanding and others due to want of stress or phonetic convenience.

Persian [á]

changes to [i] in **ishná,** friend, < áshná
[u] in **ushmán,** sky, < ásmán
ushbází, fire-work, < átishbázi
[e] in **rəkebí,** plate, < rakábí
[iá] in **sʌmián,** goods, < sámán
[āi] in **təlāish,** search, < talásh

[í]

changes to [e] in **belcá,** spade, < bílcah

[ú]

changes to [o] in **xo,** bad habit, < khú (habit)
bo, bad smell, < bú (smell)
ʌbro, honour, < ábrú
[ām] in **rām,** way, < rú
[í] in **bíJo,** monkey, < búznah

[o]

changes to [i] in **nishádur,** salt ammoniac, < noshádar
[ə] in **cəhá,** a measure, < cohá

[e]

changes to [u] **pusháb,** urine, < pesháb
bāi˜t, cane, < bed

The dropping down of vowels for want of stress in the following words is remarkable—

púdṇá, mint, < púdínah
bʌ˜dbʌst, arrangement, < bandobast

Thus we find the Persian vowels changing so wildly and

irregularly.

[á] > [á]	[e] > [e]
> [ʌ]	> [i]
> [ə]	> [u]
> [í]	> [āi]
> [i]	[ú] > [ú]
> [u]	> [u]
> [e]	> [o]
> [iá]	> [í]
etc.	[o] > [o]
[i] > [í]	> [u]
> [i]	> [i]
> [e]	> [ə], etc.,

X. 3. iii. [ʿa], [ʿá]

Persio-Arabic [ʿa] behaves like a vowel in Lahndi. It appears that the Arabic sound could not be imported in the tract. Some Indian travellers to Iran have stated that in Modern Persian the consonantal value of [ʿa] was never found there by them.

Initially it is lost before [ʌ] in the following Awankari words e.g.,

ʿaql, wisdom, > **ʌkul**
ʿarzí, application, > **ʌrzí**
ʿarq, distilled water, > **ʌruk.**

Similarly before another vowel it is asssmilated initially, as in

ʿálam, world, state, > **álum**
ʿumr, age, > **umur**
ʿunáb, a fruit, > **unáb**
ʿíd, a festival, > **íd**
ʿainak, spectacles, > **āinuk.**

Medially it is [á] and behaves like the latter under particular conditions of stress.

taʿnah, taunting remark, > **táná**
laʿl, diamond, > **lál**
mʿaní, meanings, > **máne**
mashʿal, torch, > **mushál**

In a prestressed position, it is a short vowel.

mʿajún, electury, > **məJún,**

mʿashúq, beloved, > **məshúk**
tʿawíz, amulet, > **təvít.**

Again, medially [ʿá], > [á] is assimilated by a following vowel.

[ʿá] > [á] in

badmʿásh, vulgar, > **bʌdmásh**
muʿámlah, matter, > **mámlá.**
ʿám, generally, > **ám.**

It is neutral [ə] in such combinations as—

shaʿúr, commonsense, > **shəúr** saʿídah, a name, > **sʌídá˜.**

Final [ʿ]

Finally it is changed to [á] along with the [a] vowel preceding it.

zilaʿ, district, > **zilá**
manaʿ, prohibition, > **mʌ^ná˜**
jamaʿ, a collection, > **Jʌmá˜.**

It is assimilated to a preceding vowel if there be any, e.g. ittlaʿ, information, > **itlá^.**

baiʿ, sale, > **bāi**
shúruʿ, beginning, > **shurú**
vidáʿ, separation, > **vidiá˜.**

Again it is lost for want of support, as in

bekul, a fool, < beʿaql
kʌlí, gilding, < qalaʿi
əvá̤n, a tribe, < aʿawán
killá, fort, < qilʿah
Jummá, Friday, < jumʿah.

Thus we find that [ʿ] is practically ignored as a sound.

[ʔ]

[ʔ] is treated in Lahndi as if it did not exist at all. It appears, it was not noted at all by the listeners. Compare—

súr, swine, < súʔar
iJrá, warrant, < ijráʔ
Jurət, courage, < juraʔt.

Usually in Persian loan-words [ʔ] occurred between long [á] and short [i]. In Lahndi the whole combination [á] + ʔ + [i] has been changed to [āi]. See examples in X. 5.

[ʔ] like [ʿ] has not been able to leave any impression or relic in Awankari.

X. 4. General Problems

X. 4. i. Nasalization

Nasalized vowels were unknown to Persian and Turkish.

Examples of spontaneous nasalization in Awankari are given below—

kiã̄s, justice, < qayás
baĩ̄t, poem, < bayat
dʌrgã̄, monastery, < dargáh
xʌngã̄, monastery, < xángáh
shaũ̄k, zeal, interest, < shauq
aĩ̄sh, luxury, < ʿaish
faĩ̄slá, decision, < faisilah.
tobã̄, repentance, < tobah
ərã̄ĩ, a tribe, gardener, < alráʿi
hʌmsȭs, sorrow, < afsos
haũ̄slá, courage, < ʜaosilah
sərã̄, inn, < saráy
baũ̄sh, discussion, < baʜṣ

Examples of historial nasalization—

bʌdnã̄, notorious, < badnám
nimáshã̄, twilight, < nímsham.

Dependent nasalization may be regressive or progressive. Regressive nasalization is compulsory, as noted in the "Lahndi Phonetics". For example—

kurã̄n, Quran, < quraán
ã̄m, common, < ʿám
zĩ̄mĩ́, earth, < zamín
xã̄nã̄, cell, < kẖánah
ərã̄m, rest, < árám
səbũ̄n, soap, < sábún.

Progressive nasalization takes place only when the syllable containing the vowel is weak.

gʌrmĩ́, heat, < garmí
nʌrmĩ́, leniency, < narmí
dáṇã́, grain, < dánah.
khurmáṇĩ́, apricot, < kẖúbání
nimṹ, lemon, < límṹ

But when the syllable is stressed, progressive nasalization does not take place. Compare—

təmácá, slap, < ʈamancah
gunã́, sin, < gunáh.
səmosá, a pastry, < sambosah

Compare **bədnã́,** in which nasalization is an historical relic of [m] in Persian badnám, inspite of the stress on the last syllable.

DENASALIZATION. The cases showing denasalization of Persian

sounds are not many. The following examples are available—

ishkpecá, a creeper, < ishq-i-pecán
inshá-allah, God willing, > **shálá**
sandán, anvil, > **sədán**
shírín, sweet, > **shírí,** (sweetness).

X. 4. ii. Metathesis

Many sounds are difficult to be articulated by backward people in their particular combinations. Such combinations are generally changed into more convenient ones. Examples of metathesis of Persian sounds in Awankari are quite plenty. Compare—

ʌshkʌr, after all, < akṣar
ʌbkur, mica, < abrak
ishkbol, flea-wort seed, < aspɢol
bʌshkí, a title, < Bakẖshí
bucká, bag, < buɢcah
pík, funnel, < kíf
pəlítá, wick, < fatílah
nəmukʌr, deny, < munkir
nʌshká, map, < naqshah
kácú, knife, < cáqú
məJáz, nature, < mizáj
mʌtbul, selfishness, < maʈlab
máxub, agreeable, < mwáfiq
tʌkmã́, medal, < tamɢah
nuksá, prescription, < nuskẖah.

X. 4. iii. Additions of Sounds

We have already seen how consonant groups have been avoided by inserting vowel sounds. Sometimes consonants are added in an attempt to Aryanize foreign words, as

[ḍ] in **tʌ̃ḍúr,** oven, < tanúr
[ḍ] in **huṇ̃ḍər,** art, < hunar
cugáṇ̃ḍ, hockey, < caugán
guṇ̃ḍá, wicked person, < (sar) ɢanah
kúháṇ̃ḍ, hump, < kohán
[r] in **surJaní,** a cloth, < sozaní
tʌrsallí, satisfaction, < tasallí
khurmáṇi, an apricot, < kẖúbání
pʌrmáná, measure, < paymánah
[l] in **kʌlbútur,** a pigeon, < kabútar
mʌlvesíã̄, piles, < massah

X

[g] in **mai^rbángí,** kindness, < mehrbání
hiráṇgí, wonder, < hayraní.

X. 4. iv. Deformities

There are quite a large number of words, in which deformity of words and irregularity in change have made them practically unrecognizable. Examples.—

muhár, rent, < máhawár	**hʌṇ,** now, < hanúz
ugá^, witness, < gawáh	**bíJo,** monkey, < búznah
mʌmdʌstá, mortar and pestle, < háwan dastah	**mədín,** female, < mádah
sippí, shell, < sadaf (cf. Skt. shukti.)	**kánígo,** a caste, < qánúngo
kárzəbán, bugloss, < gawzubán	**sʌrghí,** dawn, < saHargáh
	vəlád, progeny, < aulád.

X. 4. v. Possibilities

The following are some more words which have Persian origin but which appear to be quite Indo-Aryan. The sounds in them have developed most irregularly.

Jhəlʌt, madness, < Jahálat, (ignorance)
ʌlphʌl, naked, < alif
bíní, a piece of wood on the door, < mábayan
ví^ṇí, wrist, < bíní (nose, brain).

The change of [b] to [v] in the híní, may be compared to **vʌsul,** onion, < basal and **vʌrtuṇ,** in **vʌrtuṇ vəlevá,** luggage, < bartan.

pəlúti, abuses and **lúti,** backbiting, < falítah (burning wick)

mʌmṭí, turret, < bám	**ʌJh,** sit, < az
kʌro˜, a measure, < karam	**bukul,** wraped cloth, < baGal.

The following words appear to have been derived from Persian, although I am unable to find out their parallels.

botná, young of a donkey	**hʌlká,** mad
dáJá˜, reins	**khorí,** hole ; cf. Per. khol
murkiá˜, ear-rings	**milus,** camel-hair

se^lí, rope **ví^llá,** damp
usur kusur, senses ; cf. Persian avsán.

X. 4. vi. Elision of sounds

Sometimes unrecognizability has occurred on account of the dropping of sounds in the Persian words. Examples—

arzdásht, > **ərdás,** prayer
shábásh, > **shábus,** bravo
átishbází, > **əshbází,** or **ushbází,** fire-work
maulví, > **mʌulí,** priest
liHáf, > **leph,** quilt
afrátʌ-tafrítʌ, > **hʌfrá-tʌfrí,** disorder
basar, > **sʌr,** afford
inshá-allah, > **shálá,** God willing
Aᶜbdullah, > **du^llá,** a name
yá-allah, > **jálá,** by God
háfiz, > **hʌnz,** blind man
átish, > **ʌt,** fire
masjid, > **məsít,** mosque
dahᶜáshúrah, > **dəshúre,** ten days of Muharram
sar-ba-sar, > **sʌr pʌr,** at all
Tashtarí, > **tʌslí,** plate.

X. 4. vii. Extensions

Persian words have been given further Indo-Aryan forms by extensional sounds. Grammatical terminations are added to Persian vocables. Loan substantives are declined like I-A. substantives. Persian verbs are conjugated like I-A. verbs, and so on.

In addition, the following Awankari suffixal sounds are interesting—

[ṛá] in **híJṛá,** eunuch, < híj
in **lʌ˜gṛá,** a mango, < lang (lame)
[ṛ] in **həváṛ,** steam, < hawá
in **lá˜guṛ,** a loin-cloth, < lung ; cf. **lu˜gí,** a turban
[ílá,] in **zə^ríla,** poisonous, < zahar (poison)

[á] in **gu˜gá**, dumb, < gung
in **varká**, page, < varq.

X. 5. Vowels in Contact

It appears that no vowel groups or diphthongs existed in Persio-Arabic. Some semivowel, glottal sound or stop was necessarily uttered between vowels. In Indian languages, however, the consonantal sound was so dropped or changed that the vowels were brought into contact. Compare the following in Awankari—

(1) By change of [au] to [aū]
faūz, army, < fauj **daūrí**, a stone vessel, < daurah
saūdá, bargain, < saudah **kaūl**, word, < qaul
bilaūrí, of glass, < balaurí etc., etc.

(2) By change of [h] to tone
shipá^í, soldier, < sipáhí **shá^í**, ink, < siyáhí
shurá^í, a pitcher, < suráhí.

(3) By elision of [ʕ]
mudaí, plaintiff, < mudaʕí
kətaí, at all, < qataʕí.

(4) By elision of [ʔ]
kəsáí, butcher, < qasáʔí **xudáí**, people, < khudáʔí
həlváí, confectioner, < halwáʔí **məláí**, cream, < bálaʔí

It may be noted that all the above conjuncts occur finally.
Medial diphthongs occur in the following cases—
miád, duration, < miyʕád **səís**, syce, < sáʔis
ziádá, more, < ziyádah **vəsíut**, will, < wasíyyat
axtiár, control, < ikhtíyár **suál**, question, < sawál.

There are a few words in which [a + h + a] < Awankari [aū^], as in
shaū^r, village, < shahar **zaū^r**, poison, < zahar
paū^r, time, < pahar etc.

Older still are the cases in which diphthongs thus expected have

been monophthongized, as

(1) By elision of [y]
Per. [aya] < [e] in
shex, sheikh, < shayakh
Per. [aya] or [áya], < [aī]
saīl, walking, < sayar **shikaīt**, complaint, < shikáyat
vəlaīt, England, < wiláyat **həmaīti**, helper, < hamáyati.
Per. [aya] < [ə] in a prestressed position—
shətán, devil **səláb**, flood
mədán, plain **pədaīsh**, produce.
Per. [aya] < [i] in prestressed position
hirán, surprised, < hayrán.

(2) By elision of [h] leaving tone
shaī^r, city, < shahar **shá^r**, town, < shahar
ná^r, canal, < nahar **mo^r**, pound, < muhar
mo^lut, duration, < muhalat **sho^rá**, ashamed, < shuharat (fame).

Please note in the above [a a] < [á], [a a] < [aī] and [u] + [a] < [o].

(3) By elision of [ʔ]
[á] + [i] < [aī]
faīdá, use, < fáʔidah **pədaīsh**, produce, < paydáʔish
laīk, able, < láʔiq **naīb**, assistant, náʔib.
[a] + < [i] [á]
pácá, foot of trousers, < páʔicah.
[a] [i] < [e]
necá, snake of a smoking pipe, < náʔicah.

(4) By elision of [ʕ]
[á] + [i] < [aī]
kaīdá, method, < qáʕidah.

Just a couple of cases of diphthongization are known—
vidiá˜, farewell, < vidáʕ
gi^riá˜, 1/16 of a yard, < girah.

X. 6. The Effect of Awankari Stress

We have already observed that the Awankari stress has effected important phonetic changes in the sounds of Persian words. The observations may be summed up below—

(a) Shortening of a vowel—

vədám, almond, < bádám
bərík, thin, < bárík
bimár, ill, < bímár
bishak, doubtless, < beshak
imán, faith, < ímán
cubaccá, cistern, < cáh-baccah
pushák, dress, < poshák
etc.

(b) Droping of a vowel—

sámi, customer, < ásámi
fai˜slá, distance, < faisilah
kábli, of Kabul, < kábuli.

(c) Singling of a double consonant—

Juláb, purgative, < julláb
bəzáz, draper, < bazzáz
be-izti, disgrace, < ʿizzati
suntá˜, circumcision, < sunnat
itlá, information, < ittlá^{ʿ}
etc.

(d) Doubling of a single consonant—

khaṭṭá˜, regrets, < khaṭá (mistake)
nemukkur, deny, < munkir.

(e) Dropping of a consonant—

dasxat, signature, < dastkhatt
mətábi, a fire work, < mahtábi.

For more examples see the section on **Elision.**

(f) Dropping of a syllable—

dəshúre, Moharram, < dah-ʿáshurah
muhár, rent, < máhwar
tasli, plate, < tashtari
jálá, O God, < yá·allah
betbári, distrust, < be-iʿatabári
ushbázi, firework, < átishbázi.

XI

ENGLISH ELEMENT

XI

ENGLISH ELEMENT

1. English Specific Sounds
2. Vowels
3. Nasalization of Vowels
4. Diphthongs of English
5. English Consonants in Awankari
6. English Consonant Groups
7. The English Syllable
8. General

XI. 1. English Specific Sounds

An Awankar is unable to pronounce the following English sounds—

VOWELS

ɐ	as in call	> á
aɯ	as in lord, copy	> á
ae	as in lamp	> ʌ or i
e	as in shed	> i
ei	as in fail	> e
ai	as in time, fire	> āi

au as in out > **au**
ou as in coat > **o.**

Some of the above sounds are too delicate to be ever felt even by the literate people.

CONSONANTS

dz as in judge > **J**
cz as in chimney > **c**
csh as in station > **sh**
th as in theatre > **th**
w as in warrant > **v.**

It will be interesting to note that Awankari, which has borrowed z, x, ɢ from Persian has not so far acquired a single sound from English. The reasons for this are obvious: The students learn English from Indian masters who are quite ignorant of English phonetics; the speakers do not, as a rule, come into contact with English people; and it is still too early for English sounds to become acclimatised in Indian dialects.

XI. 2. English Vowels

Short vowels are generally preserved, except in the last syllable, where they are changed to **[u]** in medial position.

[ʌ] in cuff = **kʌf**
summons = **sʌmmun**
button = **bʌṭṭuṇ**
general = **JʌrnāĪ** (āi in the final syllable is irregular)
exception: company = **kʌṁ̃pṇí.**

[i] in ticket = **ṭikuṭ**
knicker = **nikur**
biscuit = **biskuṭ**
register(y) = **rəJiṣṭrí, rəJishṭrí**
minute = **mi˜ṭ**
pistol = **pistaul**
inch = **āĪ˜cí** is an exception to the general tendency.
tin = **ṭín** is an exception to the general tendency.

[ə] of the pre-accented syllable, as in
commission = **kəmishun**

America = **əmríké.**

[u] in hook = **huk**
exception: bull = **búlí** (dog).

English long vowels except [í] [ú] are generally modified to Awankari vowels, the tendency being to make vowels closer and shorter.

[e] > **[i]** in sessions = **sishun**
pencil = **pinsul**
pen = **pin**
deputy = **ḍipṭí**
shed = **shiḍ.**

In **səvíṭur** < sweater, **[í]** for **[i]** is due to strong accent, as in **kəmíshun,** and **əmríká,** above.

Also note āi > **[ʌ]** in lamp = **lʌmp**
practice = **prʌkṭís**
castor oil = **kʌshṭrāĪl.**
> **[á]** in battery = **bá˜trí**
barracks = **bárká˜**
brandy = **birá˜ḍí.**

In double breast > **ḍʌbul bres,** [e] is irregular.

[aṁ] > **[ʌ]** in bomb = **bʌm**
orderly = **ʌrdlí**
> **[á]** in tonga = **ṭá˜gá**
lord = **láṭ**
collar = **kálur**
polish = **pálush**
cork = **kák.**

In **botul** < bottle, [o] is irregular.

[ə] in **kəmeṭí** < committee is due to the unaccented position of **[ʌ].**

[o] > **[u]** in police = **pulus.**

[í] is preserved in
ḍipṭí < deputy
ʌrdlí < orderly
ká˜pí < copy.

In **birJʌs** < breeches, the **[i]** for [í] is irregular.

[ú] is preserved in
búṭ < boot
ṭúl < stool.

XI

In the last syllable of a word, and there too in unaccented position, long vowels tend to be reduced to **[u]**, immediately before a consonant, as

[í] in **pulus** < police
[e] in **turum** < trumpet
[e] in **sáṭ́ifikuṭ** < certificate
[u] in **palṭuṇ** < platoon
etc., etc.

XI. 3. Nasalization of Vowels

Vowels are nasalized in the vicinity of nasal consonants under conditions described at I. 4. ii. of the "Lahndı Phonetics".

It has been already mentioned in the treatment of Persian loanwords that spontaneous nasalization of vowels, especially the long ones, is one of the most effective phonetic phenomena found in foreign words naturalized in Awankari as also in many other languages. Examples of this independent nasalization are more common in the English loanwords than in the Persian words. Examples are—

laĩ˜s < lace
gaĩ˜s < gas
ká˜pí < copy
kaĩ˜c < catch
baĩ˜ṭ < bat (cricket)
rə˜grúṭ < recruit.

X. 4. Diphthongs of English

The English diphthongs are generally monophthongized in Awankari. This is in conformity with the tendency of closing and shortening the English vowels as noted above.

[ei] > **[e]** in **fel** < fail
[ʌ] in **ʌpraĩl** < April
[aĩ] in **caĩn** < chain.

[ái] > **[aĩ]** very regularly, as in

ṭaĩm < time
vaĩsrá < viceroy
faĩr < fire
saĩkul < cycle
(but **báísikul** < bicycle)
ḍraĩvur < driver
praĩmrí < primary

kʌshṭraĩl < castor-oil line < **laĩṇ.**

Compare in this connection Persian [ái] also changing to **[aĩ]** in Awankari. See X 5.

As in **kʌshṭraĩl,** [au̯i] changes to **[aĩ].** The word boiler has been heard as **baĩlur,** from motor drivers and mechanics. The following technical terms noted from the speech of some artisans in Awankari are also interesting :

paĩ˜ṭ < point **Jaĩn** < joint.

[iə] > **[í]** in **bír** < beer
gír < gear (heard from motor drivers and cleaners).

[ie] > **[e]** in **theṭur** < theatre.

[áu] > **[au̯],** which is generally heard as **[o]** and is the shortest and closest of the diphthongs, as noted in the chapter concerned.

Examples—

pau̯˜ḍ < pound, and
grau̯˜ḍ < ground.

Similarly [au̯u] is changed to **[au̯]** in

au̯ṭ < out
kau̯˜sul < council.

[ou] is usually changed to **[o],** which is heard even from the speech of learned teachers in schools, as in

moṭur < motor
coat > **koṭ** (poultice > **pulṭus,** is irregular)
loṭus < notice.

Like [ou], many of the delicate English diphthongs are reduced to simple vowels. The shorter and glidal element of the English diphthong disappears.

XI. 5. English consonants in Awankari

Phonetically, the English consonantal sounds, except about a dozen, are quite foreign to the Awankari speakers. No English consonant is yet naturalized in the dialect. Even M.A.s in English from the tract cannot exactly produce the English values.

[b], [k], [f], [g], [h], [l], [m], [n], [p], [s], [v] and [z] are the only consonants almost common to English and Awankari; and in whatever English words they occur, they are generally preserved, except for the aspiration in some of them, as—

[b] in **bím** < beam **bʌṭuṇ** < button
bāilur < boiler **ʌstʌbul** < stable
etc., etc.
[k] in **koṭ** < coat **kāĩc** < catch
ṭrʌ̃k < trunk **kák** < cork
ḍákdʌr < doctor etc.
[f] in **fāishun** < fashion **fel** < fail
kʌf < cuff **lʌfṭāin** < lieutenant.
[g] in **gāiṭus** < garters **gāĩs** < gas
ṭágá < tonga **sirguṭ** < cigarette.
[h] in **huk** < hook.
[l] in **lʌmp** < lamp **lát** < lord
botul < bottle **ʌrdlí** < orderly
etc., etc.
[m] in **moṭur** < motor **bím** < beam
kəmíshun < commission **mem** < ma'am.
[n] in **nikur** < knicker **ṭín** < tin
cimní < chimney **fāishun** < fashion.

The change of non-initial [n] to [ṇ] is older than its preservation in loanwords or its restoration in I-A languages. Examples of English [n] changing to [ṇ] in Awankari are also available. Compare—

pʌlṭuṇ < platoon **lāiṇ** < line
kʌ̃mpṇi < company.
[p] in **pʌlṭuṇ** < platoon **pin** < pen
ḍipṭí < deputy **inspiṭṭur** < inspector.
[r] in **riputṭ** < rivet **rəshíd** < receipt
ḍrāivur < driver etc.
[s] in **vāisrá** < viceroy **sʌmmun** < summons
pás < pass
[sh] in **fāishun** < fashion **məshín** < machine.
[v] in **vāisrá** < viceroy **ḍrāivur** < driver.

The change of [r] to [l] and of [l] to [r] is as common in English words as in Indo-Aryan and Persian words. Examples are—

piplámiṭ < peppermint **láṭkín** < (Lord) Ratigan
bəlishṭur < barrister
Jʌ̃ṭurmāin < gentleman
etc., etc.

In a number of words, English [s] = [sh]. Compare also Persian words at page 169.

ishṭʌ̃t < Assistant **bəlishṭur** < barrister
rəshíd < receipt **ishṭʌḍ** < stud
ishṭám < stamp.

English alveolar [t] and [d] > cerebral [ṭ] and [ḍ], respectively, as in—

ṭrʌ̃k < trunk **pʌlṭuṇ** < platoon
bʌmmúkáṭ < bamboo-cart **ṭāim** < time
ḍákḍʌr < doctor **bo:ḍĩg** < boarding
gáḍ < guard.

Spirant [th] of English = [th] of Awankari. Compare—

theṭur < theatre **thʌḍ** < third.

The affricate [dz] and [cz] > plosive [J] and [c] respectively, as in

JʌJ < judge **Jāin** < joint
chain > **cāin** inch > **āĩcí**
catch > **kāĩc**.

[w] is changed to [v] in Awankari, as in—

vərʌ̃ṭ < warrant **váskʌṭ** < waistcoat
viskí < whiskey.

Although I have not been able to find any word containing English [y] or [d] to have been adopted in Awankari, students pronounce these sounds as [j] and [d] respectively in their English lessons.

There is a large number of words in which sounds have been softened by the Awankari speakers. Compare—

[k] > [g] in **ḍigrí** < decree
rə̃grúṭ < recruit.
[g] > [b], which is softer than the former, in
sábú < sago.
[cz] > [J] in **birJus** < breeches.
[t] > [t] in **botul** < bottle **bʌ́trí** < battery
pistāul < pistol **tárpín** < turpentine.
[d] > [d] in **dəsʌmmur** < December
ʌrdlí < orderly.
[t] > [ṭ] [d] in **ḍákdʌr** < doctor.
[n] > [l] in **lʌmmur** < number **loṭus** < notice
loṭ < note **lálṭāin** < lantern.

The change of [d] to [ṭ] in **láṭ** < lord, and **káṭ** < card, is irregular and inexplicable.

XI

There are some more words which are misheard or they are indistinct originally and therefore present cases of irregular modifications, often deformities. The vowels and consonants in the following words may be noted :

pʌlṭuṇ < platoon (vowels)
domárcá < demurrage (vowels in particular)
ṭʌ̃ḍul < tunnel ; the intrusive **[ḍ]** is very unusual.
kəlī̃ḍur < cleaner „ „
lʌfṭāin < lieutenant (the last syllable)
riputṭ < rivet (the change of [v] to **[p]**)
turum < trumpet (the last syllable).

[ṭ] in **səkī̃ṭ** < second isf ormed on the analogy of **mī̃ṭ** < minute.

The intrusive **[r]** in **fʌrnāil** < phenyle, and **sirmuṭ** < cement, may be compared with that in I-A and Persian words.

The question of glidal [r] has been complicated by the defective spelling in Hindustani scripts. It appears that words which have been borrowed direct from English speakers are those in which no trace of either [r] or glide is left in Awankari. Compare—

bo:ḍi̇̃g < boarding	**ʌrdlí** < orderly
kák < cork	**ripoṭ** < report
lálṭāin < lantern	**láṭ** < lord
gāiṭus < garters	**káṭ** < card
koṭ < court	**gáḍur** < girder
gáḍ < guard	**bʌmmúkáṭ** < bamboo-cart
mʌní-áḍur < money-order	**thʌḍ** < third
sáṭífikuṭ, < certificate	etc., etc.

It may be noted that most of the English [r]s disappearing here are those before English alveolars.

The words containing [r] instead of the English glide are also quite numerous. Examples—

máruc < March	**ḍrāivur** < driver
sətʌmmur < September	**theṭur** < theatre
moṭur < motor	etc., etc.

XI. 6. English Consonant Groups

Initially only those groups have been retained which already

existed in Awankari, e.g.

[ḍr] in **ḍrāivur** < driver
[pl] in **pleṭíʌr** < plate-layer
[pr] in **prʌkṭis** < practice ; **prāimri** < primary
[kr] in **kroshiá** < crotchet.

We have noted that [r] and [l] easily adapt themselves as second members of consonant groups. It is, however, remarkable that the general tendency in English loanwords as in Persian words is to lose grouping in Awankari. A consonant group is avoided in two ways :

(a) by assimilating the two sounds of the conjunct ; and
(b) by inserting a vowel (swarabhakṭi) between the elements.

Compare—

(a) **ṭíshun** < station	**ṭál** < stall.
(b) **gilás** < glass	**burush** < brush
səleṭ < slate	**gurus** < gross
kirkuṭ < cricket	**birjus** < breeches.

Regarding the words brush, gross, cricket and breeches, Dr. T. G. Bailey suggests that the syllable stop + r + vowel is changed to stop + vowel + r, by transposition.* In fact the attempt of the speaker is to avoid consonant group.

Some words borrowed from Hindi show another way how a consonant group is avoided. A prothetic **[i]** serves to split up the two elements into two syllables. Examples are—

ishṭám < stamp **ʌstʌbul** < stable
ishṭʌḍ < stud.

Medially, a consonant group is retained in (or modified to) such a form in which syllabic division is easy, i.e. the group is not real. Note **[shṭ]** and **[st]** in the above examples, and also compare—

[kd] in **ḍákdʌr** < doctor
[shṭ] in **kʌshṭrāil** < castor-oil
[gl] in **i̇̃glāi̇̃ḍ** < England
[mn] in **cimní** < chimney.
[sk] in **biskuṭ** < biscuit.

No final group exists in Awankari except nasal + plosive, sporadically. Compare—

[mb] in bomb > **bʌm**
[rc] in March > **máruc**

*B. S. O. S.Vol. IV. and V.

XI

[rd] in lord > **láṭ**

but

[nṭ] in **səkiˇṭ** < second
[mp] in **lʌmp** < lamp
[ng] in **boḍiˇg** < boarding
etc., etc.

XI. 7. The English Syllable

As a rule, the number of syllables in English words is retained in Awankari. There are, however, instances of shortening in trisyllabic English words, as in

ʌmríká < America	**Jʌrnāil** < general
ḍipṭí < deputy	**kāuˇpṇí** < company
ʌrdlí < orderly	**prāimrí** < primary
kʌshṭrāil < castor-oil	**sirguṭ** < cigarette
etc.,	etc.

There are a number of monosyllabic words in English which have become disyllabic in Awankari, such as

March > **máruc**	**gilás** < glass
ishṭaḍ < stud	**burush** < brush.

These are the cases in which consonant groups were avoided.

There are more disyllabic English loanwords in Awankari than the monosyllabic words. The trisyllabic words are very few. I have not been able to discover a single tetrasyllabic word. They occur in the following proportion :

Monosyllabic 35%
Disyllabic 55%
Trisyllabic 10%.

STRESS. Awankari has followed its own stress system in English loanwords. It is initial when the syllables are short + short, or long + short, or long + long. Compare—

short + short	long + short	long + long
ṭikuṭ (ticket)	**loṭus** (notice)	**káˇpí** (copy)
pinsul (pencil)	**botul** (bottle)	**sleṭí** (slate *adj.*)
pʌlṭun (platoon)	**kāuˇsul** (council).	

boˈḍiˇg (boarding) and **ḍákˈdʌr** (doctor) are perhaps conceived as compound words.

In the words containing syllables short + long, the stress falls on the second syllable, as in

ʌmˈríká < America
iˇgˈlāiˇḍ < England
kʌrˈnāil < colonel
pisˈtāul < pistol
ʌpˈrāil < April.

In trisyllabic words, stress is medial. Compare—

bəˈlishtər < barrister
duˈmárcá < demurrage
mʌniˈáḍur < money order
rəˈJiṣṭrí < register(y)
kəˈmíshun < commission.

The word **kəmishˈnʌr** (commissioner), again, is considered as a compound word.

Dr. T. G. Bailey (B. S. O. S., Vol. IV-V) has noted double Punjabi stress in bicycle, commissioner, doctor, etc. We have one stressed syllable in Awankari. In this connection compare also Bengali stress, which is initial.

XI. 8. General

The reduction of syllables in the words enumerated on the last page is the result of phonetic economy which is further evinced in the following cases of haplology—

ishṭʌˇṭ < Assistant	**turum** < trumpet
ləfṭāin < lieutenant	**váskaṭ** < waistcoat
pleṭíʌr < platelayer.	

Matathesis may be noted in the following words—

flánāin < flannel
Jʌrnāil < general
sirguṭ < cigarette.

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INDEX OF WORDS & SOUNDS

A) LAHNDI

(B) .SKT. AND OTHER LANGUAGES

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

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INDEX OF LAHNDI WORDS & SOUNDS

[ə], *43, 140, 178, 179, 183, 184, 185, 191, 196.* **əbád,** *161.* **əbro,** *182.* **ədhmuṛí.** *91.* **ədhroṛ,** *140.* **ədhúrá,** *17.* **ə˜drʌkkhá,** *5.* **ə˜ḍúrí mə˜ḍúrí,** *110.* **əfát,** *160.* **əgá^˜,** *133.* **əgá^e˜,** *133.* **ə˜gár,** *10.* **əgás,** *135.* **ə'gás,** *139.* **əgere,** *92.* **ə˜gúṭh,** *131.* **əJāib,** *160.* **əJoká,** *8, 97.* **əkháṇ,** *21, 38, 142.* **əkhená,** *134, 138.* **əkhoṛ,** *42.* **əlambá,** *125, 148.* **əmʌs(s)iá˜,** *9, 18, 134.* **əmmur'sʌr,** *35.* **əmríká,** *197.* **əmussá,** *147.* **əmúdhá,** *53, 137, 140.* **ənáJ,** *38, 142.* **ənár,** *178.* **əndrʌkkhá,** *37.* **ənhárá,** *133.* **əputṭhá,** *137.* **ərá˜í,** *186.* **ərám,** *182.* **ərá˜m,** *186.* **ərástá,** *182.* **ərdás,** *189* **əṛu˜g,** *120.* **əṛúá,** *88.* **əsá^˜,** *42.* **əshbází,** *189.* **əsíl,** *178.* **əsís,** *134.* **əsmʌttur,** *11.* **ətár,** *133.* **ətroká,** *97.* **ətvár,** *133.* **əṭháṭh,** *17, 133, 142.* **əṭhāiṭh,** *133.* **əṭhtá^lí,** *21, 141.* [əú], *140.* **əvá˜ḍá,** *148.* **əváḍh gəváḍh,** *110.* **əváṇ,** *185.* **əváz,** *170.* **əxír,** *173.*

[ʌ], *47, 107, 177, 178, 182, 184, 195, 196, 197, 198.* **ʌbhruk,** *10* **ʌbkur,** *187.* **ʌbro,** *161, 183.* **ʌddhá,** *3.* **ʌddh-o-vʌdh,** *111.* **ʌdh-khʌṛ,** *198.* **ʌdh-khʌṛá,** *148.* **ʌdh-krʌḍḍá,** *112.* **ʌdhkur,** *68.* **ʌdhroṛ,** *69.* **ʌ˜drʌkkhá,** *5.* **ʌḍ,** *122, 145, 146, 147.* **ʌ˜ḍá,** *148.* **ʌḍḍá,** *133, 137.* **ʌḍḍ-o-ʌḍ,** *111.* **ʌ˜ḍúrí,** *92.* **ʌ˜g,** *11.* **ʌgg,** *21.* **ʌgge,** *5, 86, 127.* **ʌ˜giṭhí,** *131.* **ʌglá,** *93.* **ʌ˜gul,** *4, 10, 11.* **ʌ˜guṇ,** *126.* **ʌ˜gúr,** *177.* **ʌJ,** *3.* **ʌ˜J,** *37.* **ʌ˜J bá^˜,** *108.* **ʌJ de^á˜,** *108.* **ʌJh,** *137, 188.* **ʌJJuṛ,** *8, 91, 126.* **ʌ˜J-o-ʌ˜J,** *111.* **ʌk,** *137.* **ʌkh,** *21.* **ʌkkh,** *63.* **ʌkkhiá˜,** *18.* **ʌkkhí˜,** *62.* **ʌkk,** *38.* **ʌkkur,** *38.* **ʌkul,** *184.* **ʌkvále,** *5, 86.* **ʌl,** *136.* **ʌlgʌrzí,** *173.* **ʌlphʌl,** *112, 188.* **ʌm,** *35, 40.* **ʌmríká,** *204, 205.* **ʌ^nná˜,** *3.* **ʌnne,** *9.* **ʌ^nní múrí,** *112.* **ʌṇí,** *137.* **ʌppəṛná,** *45.* **ʌprāil,** *198, 205.* **ʌpṛāiná,** *129.* **ʌpuṛ,** *146.* **ʌrdlí,** *197, 200, 201, 202, 204.* **ʌruk,** *184.* **ʌruk uruk,** *107.* **ʌrú mʌrú,** *110.* **ʌrzí,** *184.* **ʌrzínəvísh,** *169.* **ʌṛ,** *96, 120, 123, 147.* **ʌ^ṛuk,** *96.* **ʌshbur,** *172.* **ʌshkʌr,** *187.* **ʌshkrá˜,** *169.* **ʌshráf,** *169.* **ʌsmʌttur,** *129.* **ʌsse,** *61.* **ʌssí,** *21, 142.* **ʌstʌbul,** *200, 203.* **ʌsul,** *168, 177.* **ʌt,** *189.* **ʌthrá,** *16, 141.* **ʌthrú,** *4, 5, 63, 133, 152.* **ʌtro˜,** *20.* **ʌtvár,** *38.* **ʌṭkul pʌccú,** *112.* **ʌṭṭá sʌṭṭá,** *112.* **ʌxtiár,** *190.* **ʌzmít,** *165.*

[a], *45.* [-a], *86.* [ava], *53.* Note—This [a] = [ʌ] above.

[á], *3, 18, 49, 50, 51, 52, 89, 107, 114, 125, 126, 130, 136, 141, 146, 180, 181, 184, 185, 190, 191, 195, 197.* [-á], *82, 83, 95, 97, 125.* [-á˜], *83.* **á^˜,** *120.* **á˜,** *61.* **á˜dá,** *134.* **ádmí,** *179.* **á˜drá˜,** *39.* **á˜gá,** *126.* **á˜guṇ,** *137.* **áiá,** *125.* [áí], *50, 126.* [-áí], *87.* **áJṛí,** *91, 126.* **ákh,** *38.* **ákhius,** *97.* **ákhí á,** *126.* **ákhná,** *133, 138.* **ákhná˜,** *134.* **ákhuṇ,** *4.* **ákhur,** *181.* **ákuṛ,** *130.* [-ál], *93, 94.* **álá,** *133, 135.* **álum,** *184.* **álus,** *21.* **ám,** *180, 185.* **á˜m,** *186.* **á^mṇe sá^mṇe,** *110.* **ám xásh,** *169.* **ánа,** *125.* **á^ná,** *133.* **aní,** *126.* [-áṇá], *95.* [-áṇí], *95.* **áphruṇ,** *41.* **áphur,** *146.* **ápṇá,** *3.* **ár,** *8, 21, 136, 137.* [-árá], *95.* **ár pár,** *110.* **á^r sá^r,** *110.* **ársí,** *20.* **ás,** *135.* **áse páse,** *110.* **ásrá,** *135.* **áste,** *170.* **á˜ṭṛá,** *37.* [-áú], *87.* **ává,** *3, 21.* [-ává], *87.* **á˜vdí,** *165.* **ávlá,** *64.*

[āi], *44, 49, 51, 53, 120, 127, 183, 184, 185, 191, 195, 198, 199.* **āi^˜,** *120.* **āi˜cí,** *196, 201.* **āinuk,** *184.* **āi^ṇ,** *32, 51.* **āirá,** *152.* **āi˜sh,** *186.* **āitvár,** *52,* **āiṭhá,** *18.*

[aṳ], *31, 49, 50, 53, 183, 190, 196, 199.* **aṳ^,** *190.* **aṳkhá,** *17, 129.* **aṳkhá saṳkhá,** *110.* **aṳtrá,** *10, 17.* **aṳṭ,** *199.*

[b], *40, 131, 163, 175, 201.* [b-], *7, 29, 121, 161.* [-b-], *161.* **bəcá,** *83.* **bədná˜,** *186.* **bədrʌgá,** *163.* **bəgícá,** *159.* **bəGícá,** *174.* **bəhʌttur,** *138.* **bəhʌṭṭá,** *8, 59.* **bəháná˜,** *170.* **bəhár,** *178.* **bəhāiṛá,** *45, 59.* **bəJhíná,** *38.* **bəkroṭá,** *89.* **bəlishṭu(ə)r,** *200, 201, 204.* **bəráni,** *182.* **bərík,** *192.* **bəroṭá,** *8, 89, 151.* **bərúd,** *160, 181.* **bərúṛí,** *153.* **bəṭerá,** *92, 131.* **bəvʌ˜Já,** *138.* **bəzáz,** *192.* **bəzurgí,** *179.* **bʌc,** *83.* **bʌccá,** *90, 114, 131.* **bʌcṛá,** *90.* **bʌ˜dá,** *180.* **bʌ˜dbʌst,** *183.* **bʌddhá,** *9, 11, 133.* **bʌddul,** *29, 131.* **bʌdí,** *87.* **bʌ˜dkí,** *163.* **bʌdmásh,** *185.* **bʌdná˜,** *186.* **bʌghṇá,** *123.* **bʌghṇá bughṇá,** *107.* **bʌJ,** *29, 39, 131.* **bʌkkí,** *137.* **bʌkrí,** *48, 126, 137.* **bʌkroṭá,** *114, 151.* **bʌlGuṇ,** *165, 174.* **bʌlluṇ,** *121.* **bʌm,** *197, 203.* **bʌmmúkáṭ,** *201, 202.* **bʌ^n,** *136.* **bʌ^nná,** *133.* **bʌr,** *177.* **bʌṛí,** *131.* **bʌ^ṛuk,** *104.* **bʌs,** *168.* **bʌshkí,** *172, 187.* **bʌtuk,** *172.* **bʌtrí,** *138.* **bʌtur,** *164.* **bʌṭṭuṇ,** *137, 196.* **bʌṭuṇ,** *200.* **bʌ^ú˜,** *62, 137.* **bʌ^vvuṇ,** *147.* **bʌxíá,** *173.* **bʌkshísh,** *169, 180.* **bʌxtāūr,** *173.* **bʌxtí,** *176.* **-bá,** *99.* **bá^˜,** *33, 54. 62.* **bábut,** *178.* **bábú,** *113.* **bádíá,** *161.* **bág,** *171.* **bá˜g,** *106.* **báG,** *171, 174.* **bái,** *133.* **báisikul,** *198.* **bájá,** *171.* **báki,** *136,*

161. bákrá, 48, 126. báluG, 174. báluṇ, 8. bá˜nve, 138. bá^rá˜, 29. bárí, 8, 40, 137. bárká˜, 197. bá^trí, 197, 201. báṭh, 138. báṭí búṭí, 107. bá^vá˜, 54. bá^ví, 132, 133, 138. báz, 173. bāl, 185. bālur, 199, 200. bāi˜t, 183, 186. bāi˜ṭ, 198. bāiṭh, 96. bāiṭhuk, 96. bāṃ^, 44, 95, 131, 137. bāṃ˜sh, 169, 186. bāṃ^ṭí, 131. bāṃṭṛí, 137. bāṃ^ṭṛí, 29. [-bb-], 152. bebe, 113. beḍá, 30, 115. be-izti, 192. bekul, 161, 185. belcá, 183. ber, 8, 50. beṛí, 4, 136. betbárí, 192. bhəbhúṇ, 105. bhə˜ḍár, 49. bhəJvál, 94. bhəṇíá, 140. bhəṇvíá, 30, 54. bhə˜vá, 32. bhəvá˜ṭ, 89, 129. bhʌbká, 104. bhʌbuk, 104. bhʌ˜ḍí, 7. bhʌ˜ḍuṇ, 10. bhʌggul, 150. bhʌjjá, 133. bhʌJná-bhʌJná, 111. bhʌlká, 28. bhʌllá, 128. bhʌlṭávuṇ, 122. bhʌm, 7, 20. bhʌn, 138. bhʌ˜ḍár, 11. bhʌnná, 133. bhʌnnuṇ, 9. bhʌppá, 113. bhʌr, 11. bhʌrí, 84. bhʌrJái, 10. bhʌṛ bhʌṛ, 105. bhʌṛthú, 85. bhʌṛuá, 88. bhʌs, 77. bhʌssuṛ, 77. bhʌtríá, 39. bhʌṭh, 41. bhʌvuṇ, 39. bhá, 136. bhábí, 113. bhá˜ḍá, 11. bhá˜ḍá ṭí˜ḍur, 112. bhág, 134. bhái, 96. bhák, 104, 105. bhápá, 113, 124. bhár, 7, 11. bháṛá, 30, 82. bhá˜ve˜, 137. bhāi˜gá, 10, 36, 99. bhāiṇ, 21, 49, 51. bhāiṛá, 66, 99. bhāiṛpuṇá, 99. bhāṃ˜k, 104, 106. bhāṃ˜ká, 100, 105. bhāṃr, 64, 105. bheḍ, 5, 40. bheḍá, 48. bhiáṇí, 96, 129. bhiḍ, 48. bhiJ, 121. bhirá, 10, 21, 39, 47, 54, 124, 138. bhirává, 54. bhiṛ, 150. bhiráká, 98, bhiṭ, 150. bhiṭṭá, 58. bhiṭṭuṇ, 123. bhochuṇ, bhiṛáká, 98, bhiṭ, 150. bhiṭṭá, 58. bhiṭṭuṇ, 123. bhochuṇ, 150. bhoḍá, 115, 150. bhosṛí, 77. bhuggá, 7, 63. bhuí, 22. bhuJJuṇ, 34, 46. bhuJṇá, 34. bhukáṇá, 105. bhukh, 20, 42, 66. bhukkhá bháṇá, 112. bhul, 122. bhur, 78. bhurʌṭṭuṇ, 78. bhurká. 162, 163. bhus, 77. bhussá, 77, 136. bhú˜, 62, 66, 77. bhúá, 113, 124, 137. bhúkṇe˜, 104. bhúr, 78. bibrí, 106. bid, 150. bidáná, 182. bigáná, 182. bihoshí, 182. bilāṃrí, 190. bilkul, 178. billí kuttá, 108. bilú˜gṛá, 99. bimár, 182, 192. binʌxshá, 174. birá˜ḍí, 197. birJʌs, 197. birJus, 201, 203. bishʌk, 177, 182, 192. biskuṭ, 196, 203. bit, 29. bitá^lí, 138. bivʌs, 182. bíbá, 113. bí˜ḍá, 106. bíJo, 132, 183, 188. bím, 200. bín, 132. bíní, 188. bír, 199. biṛ, 150. biṛá, 137. bo, 183. bodí, 73. bo:ḍi˜g, 202, 204, 205. boJhá, 132. bok, 104. boká, 104, 106. bolí, 116, 136. borí, 116. boṛ, 6, 73, 127. bo^ṛ, 131. boṛun, 60. botná, 106, 147, 188. botul, 197, 200, 201, 204. bucká, 68, 161, 172, 187. bu˜dá, 10, 82. buḍ, 73, 77, 106, 127. buḍḍhá, 90, 94, 132, 138. buḍḍuṇ, 38.

buḍh.á, 115. buḍhṛá, 90. buJh, 4, 122. buk, 147. bukkul, 147, 150. bukul, 8, 124, 188. bulák, 153. bulbul, 178. buṇḍ, 35. burush, 203, 204. burzí, 165. buṛ, 76, 77. buṛá, 73, 76. buṛák, 104. buṛ-buṛ, 106. buṛená, 6. buṛuk, 105. bu^ṛuk, 104. bussá, 77. buxár, 137. bú^á, 150. búJo, 132, 171. búlí, 197. bú^ṇí, 95, 147. búr, 78. búrá, 78. búṛá, 153. búth báth, 107. búṭ, 191.

[c], 114, 146, 159, 196, 201. [-c], 21, 98, 159. [-c-], 159. cəbʌccá, 159, 178. cəbárá, 138. cə˜giái, 87. cəhá, 183. cəháṇí, 141. cəheḍ, 89. cəkvál, 94. cəmuṭ, 153. cəpeṛ (cāiṛ), 78. cərʌkhṛí, 179. cərok, 95. cəroká, 95, 97. cərokṇá, 95. cərokṇí, 95. cərokuṇ, 95. cəṛhává, 88. cəṭúrá, 92. cəṭúrí, 76. cʌb, 106. cʌ˜drá, 123. cʌ˜ḍ, 106. cʌ˜gá, 87. cʌ˜gá cʌ˜gá, 111. cʌgh, 105. cʌ˜giái, 84. cʌ˜gí, 84. cʌ˜J, 48. cʌkh, 76, 121. cʌkkʌr, 47. cʌkkur, 47. cʌkrí, 10. cʌl, 138. cʌm, 90. cʌmbá, 132. cʌmṛá, 90. cʌplí, 78. cʌppá, 78. cʌppur, 78. cʌre, 86. cʌrxá, 166. cʌtʌrtí, 134. cʌṭ, 76. cʌṭṇí, 76. cʌṭṭá, 92. cʌṭṭí, 76. cʌṭṭú, 76. cʌ^vví, 132. caská, 8. cá, 114, 136, 146. cábuk, 159. cácá, 113, 124. cá˜Já, 43, 48, 106. cá^lí, 32, 66. cánní, 136. cápṛí, 78. cárik, 97. cáṛá, 17, 53. cávul, 65, 133. cāin, 198, 201. cāiná, 51. cāiṛá, 53, 127. cʌṃbárá, 138. cʌṃdá˜, 49, 62. cʌṃ^drí, 54. cʌṃgá, 99. cʌṃk, 16. cʌṃká, 41, 138. cʌṃkhur, 8. cʌṃkáṭh, 49. cʌṃl, 28, 133. cʌṃrʌ^ttur, 68. cʌṃrí, 64. cʌṃsá, 49. cʌṃthá, 49. cʌṃ˜trí, 41, 128. cʌṃ˜ṭh, 128. cepí, 78. cetur, 11, 46. [ch], 42. 114, 115, 150. [ch-], 152. chəkor, 115, 148. chʌbbí, 132. chʌ^bbí, 29. chʌJ, 38, 77, 115. chʌllí púṇí, 108. chʌṇuk, 104. chʌp, 77, 106, 115, 146. chʌp luk, 111. chʌppur, 40, 77. chʌrná, 42. chʌṛá chá˜ḍ, 111. chʌṛá muṛá, 110. chʌt, 77, 115. chʌtrá, 77. chʌtrí, 29, 42, 115. chʌtte, 77. chʌttur, 77. chʌṭ, 77, 78, 115. chá˜, 51, 62, 115. chá˜g, 115. chái, 42, 123, 136. cháli, 16, 50, 137. cháṇ, 105, 123. cháṇní, 42. cháp, 137. chāiṇí, 49, 53. chāṃḍá, 148. che^˜, 152. che˜, 29. cheJe, 77, 115. chek, 96, 97, 137, 153. chekʌṛ bákʌṛ, 110. chekuṛ, 90, 153. cheṛ, 42, 120. cheṛ cháṛ, 107. chiánve, 29. chiási, 29. chiáṭh, 29. chiāi˜ṭh, 128. chiggá, 99. chihattur, 29. chik, 68, 106, 149. chik chʌk, 107. chikká, 148, 152. chil, 78, 115, 121, 148. chil chal, 107. chilluṛ, 78. chiṇuk, 104. chiruk, 96. chiṛuk,

42. chitá^lí, 29. chittá, 100. chittur, 78, 115. chiṭáki, 65, 140. chivʌ^̃já, 29, 30. chíṭ, 30, 52, 58. choldárí, 115. ʦchole, 115. cho^r, 91, 137. choṛ, 127. choṛun, 63. chúrá, 42, 139. chuṭ, 127. chuṭṭí ḍhukkí, 112. chúṇí, 95, 115, 148. cicuṛ, 106. cik, 177. ciluk, 96. cilum, 159, 165. cimní, 200, 203. cir, 75, 95, 97. cirái, 87. ciruk, 97. ci^ṛ, 120. cith, 46, 122. citrá, 11. ciṭṭá, 132. ciṭṭá dudh, 111. cícká, 97, 114. cící, 114. cíco, 114. cík, 104, 106. cír, 106. círá, 76. círá, 76. círe, 137. círʌsut, 109. co, 76. cod, 76, 146. cogá, 78. cokhá, 4, 5, 137. cʌpəṭ, 114. copuṛ, 8, 41, 76. coṭ, 76. covuṇ, 37. cuáti, 106, 148. cubʌccá, 192. cubh, 76. cuccá, 114. cu^̃ḍ, 137. cug, 75, 78, 114. cu^g, 75, 78. cugá^̃ḍ, 159, 187. cugh, 78, 148. cugirdí, 178. cu^̃gí, 78. cugli, 171. cu^̃J, 43. cukká, 114, 136. cu^l, 66, 114. cullí, 9. cullí krúlí, 108. cummuṇ, 35. cu^nná^̃, 114, 198. cuṇ, 114, 126. cupuṛ, 126. cúrá^iá, 167. curá^̃nve, 130. cúr, 75, 106. curʌṭṭá, 100. curásí, 141. cut, 76, 114, 146. cutá^lí, 20. cuṭkí, 104, 106. cú^á, 114. cúcá, 172. cúce, 106. cú^̃ḍuṇ, 131. cúná, 39. cúṇe^̃, 64. cúp, 106. cúpuṇ, 123. cúrá, 39, 47, 75, 106, 136. cúṛ, 30, 148. cú^ṛá, 137. cús, 78. cúthí, 148.

[d], 114, 163, 174, 187, 201. [d-], 160. [-d], 160. [-d-], 160. dəlál, 167. dərokhá, 16, 82, 140. dərogá, 171, 181. dəsʌmmur, 201. dəshúre, 170, 181, 189, 192. dəvát, 160. dʌbbá sʌṭ, 111. dʌ^̃d, 76. dʌ^̃dásá, 142 dʌdhiāū^rá, 33. dʌ^̃dí, 136. dʌ^̃dlá, 76, 93. dʌ^̃duṇ, 76, 94. dʌ^̃drí, 76, 92. dʌfá, 176. dʌ^í^̃, 18, 31, 62, 85. dʌm, 177. dʌrgá^, 159. dʌrgá^^̃, 186. dʌriá, 175. dʌṛ, 147. dʌssuṇ, 4, 39. dʌsxʌt, 164, 192. dʌth:á, 160. dʌtthá, 176. daiṇ, 49. dá^, 17, 44. dádá, 113. dádí, 113. dádká, 97. dáG, 174. dái, 50. dáJá^̃, 153, 188. dákh, 42. dál cāūl, 108. dál cíní, 167, 181. dál shál, 107. dáṇá, 186. dáṇá phʌkká, 109. dár, 21. dá^ṛ, 41, 64, 130. dátrí, 4, 83. dává, 180. dávṇí, 32. dávuṇ, 32, 94, 165. dāūrí, 190. de, 114, 120, 175. de^̃, 133. de^á^̃, 75, 136. decká, 163. deg, 171. deí, 18. deṇá, 95. deo^̃, 133. de^o^̃, 75. der, 18, 96. desí, 84. devuṇ, 4, 54, 94. [dh], 114, 115, 151. dhəbúk, 100, 105, 115, 122. dhəbúṛí, 104, 122. dhəmál, 105, 115. dhəmká, 104. dhənel, 92. dhə'nel, 140. dhətúrá, 163. dhʌbbá, 82, 115. dhʌddur, 66. dhʌ^ddur, 10. dhʌdhur, 21. dhʌmuk, 104. dhʌppá, 115, 122. dhʌrut, 140. dhʌṛ, 115, 136. dhʌṛá, 115, 149. dhʌs, 149. dhanocí, 98. dhá, 115, 137. dhágá, 28, 130, 135, 149. dhár, 115. dháruṇ, 149. dháṛá, 115. dhávuṇ, 4. dhāūṇ, 6, 18, 32. dhelá, 15. dhete, 98. dhiáṛá, 49. dhiáṛí, 84. dhi^̃gáṇá, 95. dhi^̃gí, 95, 115, 147, 149. dhi^̃gí zorí, 111. dhik, 104, 105. dhikká, 95, 115, 142, 149. dhikká mukká, 108. dhirkháṇ, 28, 45, 142. dhirkháṇú, 100. dhivár, 20, 33, 66. dhí, 33, 98, 115. dhoṛá, 90. dhoṛe, 153. dhrʌ^̃gá, 105, 147. dhrʌk, 69, 104, 115, 149. dhrāī, 105. dhrek, 100. dhrík, 104. dhuákh, 64, 122. dhu^d, 7. dhukh, 105. dhul, 105. dhum dhəṛʌs, 109. dhunní, 28, 83. dhup, 115. dhure, 105. dhussá, 83. dhú^̃, 61. dhúṇí^̃, 17, 115. dhúṛ, 6, 60, 115, 137. dhúṛ dhʌppá, 109. dhútá, 4, 5, 115. dil, 167, 177. diṇ vár, 108. di^^̃o, 62. diráṇí, 20, 96, 140. disse, 86. dissuṇ, 46. dittá, 83. ditti vʌ^̃J, 85. divál, 94. diváli, 5. diván, 175. díṇ, 180. díveṭ, 133. dívá, 82, 139. do, 40, 133. do^̃, 133. dodhí, 6, 48, 127. domárcá, 202. do^r, 54. do^rá, 125. do^rí, 126. dostí, 176. do^trá, 16, 33, 46, 125, 141. do^trí, 125. dozux, 174. drʌgguṛ, 149. dreguṛ, 124, 149. drokhá, 125. duá, 160. du^̃dá, 20. dudh, 6, 68. dudiál, 94. du^llá, 189. dumárcá, 205. dumbá, 132. dupriárá, 41. dupṛí, 84. duṛkí, 98, 104. duthrú, 105, 106. dúá, 40. dúṇá, 17, 40. [ḍ], 57, 114, 115, 163, 187, 201, 202. [ḍ-], 59. [-ḍ], 89. [-ḍ-], 30. ḍəgāūtrá, 8. ḍə^̃gorí, 92, 138. ḍərá, 87. ḍərákul, 92. ḍəráú, 87. ḍərává, 88. ḍəskore, 104, 115. ḍʌbul bres, 197. ḍʌ^̃ḍá, 76. ḍʌḍḍú, 59, 115. ḍʌ^̃ḍkí, 98. ḍʌf, 146. ḍʌg, 149. ḍʌ^̃g, 59, 115, 148. ḍʌ^̃gur vʌcchá, 108. ḍʌk, 104, 115, 149. ḍʌ^̃k, 59. ḍʌ^mṇí, 106. ḍʌnná, 28, 59. ḍʌnní, 35. ḍʌph, 105. ḍʌr, 92, 138. ḍʌr Jháká, 109. ḍʌrú, 85. ḍʌs, 7, 148. ḍʌṭ, 76, 106. ḍʌṭṭá, 76, 106. -ḍá, 149. ḍá^, 137. [-ḍá], 90. ḍáci, 153. ḍá^ḍá, 115. ḍá^ḍhá, 4, 28, 59. ḍá^̃g, 122, 138, 148. ḍákdʌr, 200, 201, 203, 205. ḍákḍʌr, 201. ḍár, 115. ḍá^vuṇ, 17, 59. ḍávur, 91. ḍāīṇ, 49. ḍāū^̃rú, 5. [ḍḍh], 41. ḍe, 120. ḍeḍh, 59. ḍe^ḍh, 52. ḍeḍhí, 59. ḍeḍur bheḍur, 112. ḍe^mú^̃, 106. ḍer, 163. ḍerá ḍaggá, 108. [ḍh], 41, 59, 114, 115. ḍhəḍorá, 105. ḍhʌ^̃g, 149. ḍhʌ^̃gá, 122, 147. ḍhaggí ḍhorí, 108. ḍhaí, 120. ḍhʌkki, 137, 149, 163. ḍhʌ^n, 105, 106. ḍhʌṭṭhá, 59. ḍhá^, 115. ḍháḍhí, 105, 136. ḍháḍí, 59. ḍhái, 15, 59. ḍhá^vuṇ, 39. ḍhāī^, 105. ḍhi^ḍ, 115, 153.

ḍhĩ̃gur, *122*. ḍhĩ̃gur dhoṛe, *109*. ḍhik, *105*. ḍhillá, *7, 16, 139, 141, 142*. ḍhĩ̃gá, *122*. ḍhĩ̃g mushále, *108*. ḍhĩm, *115*. ḍhívur, *59*. ḍhoḍhí, *153*. ḍhoḍhur, *105*. ḍhok ḍhalle, *109*. ḍhol, *96, 115, 163*. ḍholuk, *96*. ḍhovuṇ, *6*. ḍhuk, *115*. ḍhukkuṇ, *37*. ḍhú, *115*. ḍhúá, *88*. ḍhú^ḍ, *131*. ḍĩ̃gá phəṛĩ̃g, *112*. ḍigrí, *201*. ḍik, *104*. ḍikár, *104, 106, 115, 121*. ḍipṭí, *197, 200, 204*. ḍiṭṭhá, *59*. ḍíl ḍaul, *108*. ḍíuṭ, *20, 28, 54, 133*. ḍívá, *59*. ḍobá, *106*. ḍoḍá, *115*. ḍol, *163*. ḍolí, *7, 136*. ḍorá, *125, 151*. ḍoṭá, *59, 89*. draĩvur, *198, 200, 202, 203*. ḍub, *76, 115*. ḍusuk, *104*. ḍúghá, *120*.

[e] *44, 45, 46, 50, 52, 127, 180, 181, 183, 184, 191, 195, 197, 198, 199*. e^, *127*. [-e], *85, 86, 127*. [-e˜], *21*. [eá], *49*. e^á-Je^á, *121*. eJhá, *121*. eká, *46*. [-etá], *98*. [-ete-], *98*.

[f], *158, 171, 172*. fərár, *166*. fʌsul, *173*. fʌtiá˜, *172*. fʌzrí, *165*. fʌzur, *172*. fátá, *179*. faĩdá, *191*. faĩr, *198*. faĩshun, *200*. fiĩ˜slá, *186, 192*. faĩzá, *173*. fauz, *190*. fel, *198, 200*. fikur, *178*. firák, *162*. firozú, *181*. flánaĩn, *205*. furnaĩl, *202*.

[g], *162, 171, 172, 188, 201*. [g-], *159*. [-g], *159*. [-g-], *159*. gəbhroṭ, *89*. gəldá˜vá, *61, 139*. gəútur, *18, 19, 140*. gəváḍh mʌtthá, *109*. gʌbbhuṇ, *39*. gʌbhrú, *21, 39, 137*. gʌḍ, *146*. gʌḍh, *4, 36*. gʌ^ḍh, *78*. gʌḍhṇá, *39*. gʌḍhṛí, *137*. gʌJ, *171, 177*. gʌJJuṇ, *139*. gʌkkuṛ, *148*. gʌllá˜, *18*. gʌ^n, *36*. gʌṇ, *4*. gʌrmí˜, *186*. gʌ^ṛ, *64*. gʌ^ṛuk, *104, 106*. gʌthrá, *92*. gʌthur, *152*. gá˜, *62*. [-gá], *99*. gáḍ, *202*. gáḍhvá˜, *100*. gáḍur, *202*. gáí˜, *85*. gá^l, *121, 138*. gá^lí, *128*. gá^ṇe, *136*. gáṛ, *121*. gáṭá, *67*. gaĩlá, *137*. gaĩ˜s, *198, 200*. gaĩṭus, *200, 202*. [gh], *115*. ghəroká, *97*. ghəṛolí, *93*. ghəmus, *147*. ghəmusuṛ, *121*. ghəṛvʌ˜Jí, *32*. ghʌ˜ḍí, *6, 35*. ghʌggá, *115*. ghʌre, *5, 86, 127*. gharghəṭává, *88*. ghʌro˜, *87*. ghʌṛí muṛí, *110*. ghʌṛuk, *104*. ghas, *45, 148*. ghʌt, *137, 153*. ghʌṭ, *126*. ghá, *6*. ghá^, *17, 162*. ghábur, *115*. ghá˜gá, *105*. ghápí, *39*. ghá^ pʌṭṭhá, *108*. ghárvá˜, *99*. ghátá, *115, 126, 136*. gheslá, *93*. ghiddá, *29, 46, 67, 82*. ghiddí, *85*. ghiḍḍá, *89, 115*. ghin, *17, 33, 66, 100*. ghinnuṇ, *31, 94*. ghio, *6, 46, 49*. ghĩ˜d, *100*. ghol, *138*. gholuṇ, *6*. ghoṛe, *86*. ghoṛe-ná˜, *18*. ghoṛiá˜, *18*. ghoṛiá˜, *18, 83*. ghoṭ, *6, 127*. ghu^ggí, *105*. ghuggú, *105*. ghug.ú, *115*. ghukár, *104*.

ghul, *106, 126*. ghulená, *138*. ghuṇ-khá^dhá, *20*. ghuṇá^dá, *20*. ghurkuṇ, *104*. ghuruṇ, *115*. ghuṛkí, *115*. ghus, *121*. ghusávuṇ, *148*. ghuṭ, *6, 46, 64, 106, 127*. ghúc múc, *110*. ghúk, *104*. gig, *114*. gilás, *203, 204*. girá^˜, *10, 39, 47, 62*. girá˜, *10, 61, 137*. girá˜e, *5*. giráí˜, *84*. gi^riá˜, *159, 191*. girmálá, *159, 167, 179*. giṭáṛ, *90, 121*. giṭkár, *104*. giṭṭá, *148*. giṭuk, *96*. [-gí], *99*. -gír, *199*. gíṭá, *8, 90, 121, 148*. gíṭá vʌṭṭá, *108*. [gl], *203*. go^á, *31*. gocrí, *8, 137*. goḍá, *30, 115*. gogá, *113*. gogo, *114*. goguṛ, *121*. gol, *11, 78*. golá, *78*. golí, *78, 113, 133*. goluk, *78*. goṛ, *78*. go^ṛí, *83, 133, 136*. goshá, *181*. goshut, *160*. gotá, *162*. goṭ, *43*. goṭí, *52*. graĩ˜ḍ, *199*. gu˜d, *78*. gudám, *137*. gu˜duṇ, *122*. guduṛ, *18*. guḍ, *78*. gu˜ḍá, *171, 187*. guḍh, *78, 121*. gu˜gá, *105, 190*. guggá, *121*. guliái, *78*. gulli, *78*. gumán, *178*. gu^n, *78*. gunágár, *170*. gu^nnuṇ, *122*. gupphá, *36*. gurú, *96*. guriáṇí, *96*. gurus, *203*. guṛguṛ, *106*. guṛguṛí, *106*. gustán, *167, 182*. gut, *78*. gutává, *78*. gutthí, *78*. guttuṇ, *106*. guṭ, *78*. guṭh, *124, 137*. guṭṭí, *148*. guṭuk, *104, 106*. guzárá, *109*. gú^˜, *31, 62*. gúgá, *114, 121*.

[G], *158, 165, 171, 174*. Gəríb, *174*. Gʌlut, *162*. Gaĩbí, *174*. Gaĩr, *138, 174*. Guláb, *165*. Guná, *186*. Guná^, *166*.

[h], *53, 54, 170*. [h-], *28, 151, 154*. [.h-], *31, 32, 54*. həḍebá, *9*. həJámut, *179*. həlál, *167, 170*. həlímí, *181*. həlvái, *175, 190*. həmátuṛ, *11*. həmaĩtí, *160, 191*. həmel, *67*. hənárá, *13, 36 51, 67, 125, 133*. həner muner, *110*. hənerí, *125*. hərám, *170*. hərámí, *165*. həriṛ, *21*. hərnaulí, *36, 69*. həṭá, *6*. həṭaĩná, *6, 51*. həvá, *90*. həváṛ, *90, 189*. həveli, *181*. həzár, *170*. hʌbbo, *138*. hʌbhá, *29, 123, 151*. hʌbho, *66, 33*. hʌcchá, *9, 69*. hʌcchá puccha, *110*. hʌd, *176*. hʌḍ, *75*. hʌḍḍo˜, *137*. hʌ^ḍh, *75*. hʌfrá-tʌfrí, *189*. hʌg, *151*. hʌgguṇ, *29*. hʌghí, *28*. hʌ^ghí, *154*. hʌgná, *136*. hʌ˜Jú, *4, 40, 44, 69*. hʌ˜Jhú, *133*. hʌ˜Jír, *178*. hʌk, *162*. hʌl, *48*. hʌlká, *28, 188*. hʌllá, *114*. hʌllo, *9*. hʌmso˜s, *174, 186*. hʌṇ, *133, 188*. hʌppá, *107, 113*. hʌrdhul, *66, 68*. hʌrdul, *141*. hʌ^rdul, *39*. hʌrnaulí, *44*. hʌs, *64, 69, 107, 128, 136*. hʌssá˜, *83*. hʌssuṇ, *8*. hʌttho˜, *62*. hʌṭ, *6, 122*. hʌṭh, *135*. hʌṭṭí shʌṭṭí, *107*. há˜, *62, 114, 136*. háḍ, *89, 137, 152*. há˜ḍí, *130*. hál cál, *108*. hál-hál, *107*. hálí, *48, 84*. hál-pá^riá, *109*. háṇí, *84, 123*. hár, *11*. háṛ, *65*.

há^ṛ, *15, 30, 32.* hátá, *170.* háth, *67.* hāĩ˜, *114.* hāidrávádh, *163.* hāṅk, *104.* hāṅ˜k, *104.* hāṅ˜slá, *186.* hāṅz, *173, 189.* hedhá, *151.* heo˜, *21.* hibbá, *170.* hidde, *69.* hiḍkí, *104, 107.* hĩ˜J, *69, 135.* hĩ˜Je, *61.* hik, *8, 69, 97, 104.* hikʌllá, *125.* hikʌ^llá, *69, 93.* hikʌ^llá mukʌ^llá, *110.* hikʌllí, *126.* hikká mikká, *110.* hik kəṛʌkkí, *112.* hiksá^rá, *110.* hiṇuk, *105.* hiráṇ, *191.* hiráṇgí, *188.* hiṛ, *123, 147.* his, *107.* hissá bʌxrá, *109.* hive˜, *129.* hí, *114, 126.* hĩ˜, *152.* hĩ˜g, *106.* hĩJṛá, *189.* hílá, *170, 181.* ho, *53.* hochá, *123.* hoká, *97, 104.* hokərná, *104.* hokuṇ, *104.* hoṛ háṛ, *107.* hosá˜, *126.* hosh, *170.* hoṭá, *151.* hoṭh, *41, 63.* hovuṇ, *28.* hucká, *104, 107.* hu˜ḍər, *187.* hu˜gár, *107.* hu˜Je, *61.* huJh, *36.* huk, *197, 200.* hukká páṇí, *109.* hunálá, *8, 67.* huṇ, *133.* huph, *105, 107, 121.* hur, *137.* huro, *86.* huṛjál, *54.* hushiár, *175.* hussuṛ, *69.* hú, *114.* hú˜g, *107.* hú˜há˜, *109.*

[i], *43, 45, 46, 47, 126, 140, 177, 178, 179, 182, 183, 184, 191, 195, 196, 197, 203.* [-i-], *121.* [-i], *126.* [iá], *49, 183, 184.* [-iár], *129.* idde, *69, 127.* idde,áde, *109.* ĩ˜glāĩ˜ḍ, *203, 205.* ĩ˜J, *135.* ĩ˜Je, *127.* iJrá, *185.* ikásti, *134.* ikbár, *172.* ikrár, *161.* ikvʌ˜Já, *35.* iláJ, *160.* imán, *182, 192.* iná^˜di, *134.* inám, *178.* i^nná^ní˜, *134.* inspiṭṭur, *200.* iṛ, *3.* isbáb, *138, 161.* ishkbol, *187.* ishkpecá, *187.* ishná, *181, 183.* ishná˜n, *134.* ishṭʌ^ṭ, *201, 205.* ishṭám, *201, 203.* ishṭʌḍ, *201, 203, 204.* ishukpecá, *181.* itlá, *192.* itlá^, *185.* itṇá, *129.* itvár, *133.* iṭ, *3, 41, 67.*

[í], *52, 84, 114, 126, 131, 180, 181, 183, 184, 197, 199.* [ĩ˜], *152.* [-í], *83, 84, 85, 87, 89, 125.* íd, *184.* [-ílá], *189.* íshrú, *85.*

[j], *53, 54, 201.* [-j-], *33.* jəráṇá, *166, 175.* jʌ^ddhá, *7.* jaddhí, *34.* jʌ^vuṇ, *7.* jʌx, *174.* jʌxní, *173.* jád, *175, 180.* jálá, *174, 189, 192.* já˜rá˜, *67.* jumun, *174.*

[J], *162, 171, 172, 196, 201.* [J-], *29, 159.* [-J], *98, 160.* [-J-], *133, 160.* Jədád, *182.* Jəgír, *159.* Jəlebí, *171.* Jəmá˜drú, *37.* Jəmúr, *171.* Jəvái, *6, 64, 133.* Jə'vái, *140.* Jəvátrá, *133.* Jagdísh, *134.* Jaddí, *159.* Jadduṇ, *130.* Jʌ˜drí, *136.* Jʌg, *22.* Jʌ˜gh, *132.* JʌJ, *201.* Jʌ˜J, *38, 48.* Jʌ˜Jír, *160.* Jʌ^lá, *30.* Jʌ^llá, *128.* Jalti, *176.* Jamá, *185.* Jʌnʌm, *47.* Jʌndrá, *29.* Jʌṇá khʌṇá, *110.* Jʌpphí, *137.* Jʌrnāil, *196, 204, 205.* Jʌṭká, *98.* Já, *175.* Jác, *35.* Já Jəgír, *109.* Já˜Jí, *48, 129.* Jálá, *133,*

136. Játá, *35.* Játəkṛí, *91.* Játius, *97.* Játkí, *91.* Játko, *87* Játuk, *96, 135, 137.* Játuk potuk, *109.* Jáṭí, *153.* Jāin, *199, 201.* Jāiphal, *52.* Jan, *62.* Janlá, *93.* Junle, *29.* Je, *127.* Jebhá, *132, 162,* Jeṭh, *5, 96.* Jhəlʌp, *98.* Jhəlʌt, *88, 98, 99, 100, 188.* Jhʌb, *105, 153.* JhʌJh.á, *105.* Jhʌk, *104, 149.* Jhʌkkhuṛ, *105.* Jhal, *106, 136.* Jhallá, *88, 99.* Jhʌm, *6, 7, 35, 105.* Jhʌmmuṇ, *105.* Jhʌmuk, *104.* Jhʌṛ, *76.* Jhʌs, *122.* Jhassuṇ *9.* Jhʌṭ, *7, 8.* Jhá˜Jrá˜, *7, 105.* Jhál, *149.* Jhát, *88.* Jhá˜ṭ, *7, 75.* Jháṭá, *6, 7, 75.* Jháṛ, *76.* Jháṛí, *6.* Jháṛú, *76.* Jhikáṭ, *88.* Jhikká, *88, 98, 126, 146.* Jhol, *149.* Jhu^˜, *7.* Jhuggá, *146.* Jkukh, *105.* Jhul, *76, 146, 162, 177.* Jhu(^)l, *75.* Jhulká, *142.* Jhur, *121.* Jhuṭṭí, *120.* Jhú˜gá, *151.* Jhúṇ, *75.* Jhúṭá, *6, 7, 131.* Ji, *22, 126.* Jí˜d, *164, 177.* Jilut, *163, 176.* Jin, *177.* Jitṇá, *129.* Jitthe, *129.* Jitvá˜, *32, 130.* Jiṭháṇí, *96.* Jí˜ve˜, *130.* Jí, *21, 126.* Jí˜, *128.* Jíbh, *41, 44, 131.* Jíkuṇ, *130.* Jírá, *171.* Jívá˜, *52.* Jívuṇ, *8.* Jívur, *153.* Jobhá, *132.* Jogá, *5, 37, 137.* Jogí, *154.* Jo^r, *54.* Joṛ, *78, 136.* Joṛvá˜, *99.* Jotur, *10, 40, 47.* Joṭ, *127.* Joṭá, *78.* Juár, *29, 50.* Juáriá, *92.* Jul, *75, 82, 106, 138, 146.* Juláb, *192.* Jullá, *82.* Jummá, *185.* Jurət, *185.* Juṛ, *146.* Jushá˜dá, *182.* Jussá, *137, 159.* Jut, *34, 78.* Juttí, *29, 78.* Juṭ, *58, 78, 127, 146.* Juṭṭí, *78.* Jú˜, *52, 62.* Jún, *45, 134.* Júṛá, *120.* Júṭh, *131.*

[k], *161, 162, 172.* [k-], *158.* [-k], *95, 96, 97, 104, 159.* [-k-], *158.* kəcá^rí, *54.* kəchaṭṭí, *76.* kəcnár, *65, 141.* kəcúṇí, *8, 95.* kədholí, *93.* kəlbút, *163, 180.* kəlhoká, *97.* kəlhoṭá, *32, 89.* kəlí˜ḍur, *202.* kəlvʌttur, *30, 32.* kəmái, *87.* kəmávuṇ, *39.* kəmeṭí, *197.* kəmishnʌr, *205.* kəmíshuṇ, *196, 200, 205.* kəmíz, *173.* kənháṛá, *20, 36, 50.* kənún, *181.* kəraṭṭá, *100.* kərá^˜, *86.* kərárá, *32.* kərená, *37.* kə'rená, *139.* kəreniá˜ kəreniá˜, *111.* kəresá˜, *126.* kəṛʌkṇí, *104* kəṛáká, *82.* kəsái, *87, 137, 190.* kəsāiṇ, *94.* kəserá, *65.* kətʌí, *190.* kətúrá, *92.* kəvázá, *172.* kəzává, *165.* kəzíá, *161.* kʌc, *136.* kʌcchá, *76.* kʌch, *21, 42, 76, 115.* kʌchí, *125.* kʌchláṛí, *48,* kac pʌk, *110.* kʌd, *176.* kʌdduṇ, *95, 129.* kʌde, *133.* kʌdh, *36.* kʌdí, *84, 126.* kʌdú'kʌs, *183.* kʌḍḍhá, *36, 137.* kʌḍḍhuṇ, *45.* kʌḍh, *41.* kʌḍhlí, *93.* kʌḍhṇá, *95.* kʌ˜ḍí, *83.* kʌf, *196, 200.* kʌgghí, *37.* kʌghí, *128.* kʌ˜guṇ, *9.* kʌ˜Juk, *8, 38, 96.* kʌkh, *42.* kʌkh káná, *109.* kʌkkur, *38, 136.* kʌlbútur, *187.*

kalGí, *174*. kalí, *177*, *185*. kalkal, *105*. kallá, *105*. kalmá˜, *179*. kalpāiná, *129*. kaluf, *173*. kaluk, *104*. kalvatrí, *10*. kam-kár, *109*. kamṇá, *35*. kaṇí, *136*. kaṇí˜, *105*. kankaúá, *135*. kankol, *122*. kankuruṇ, *122*. kaṇ maṇ, *110*. kaṇuk, *9*, *29*, *140*. kappuṇ, *40*. kaṛá lattá, *108*. kaṛe, *137*. karáˆ, *52*, *83*, *86*. kare, *86*. kare˜, *86*. karí, *85*. karo, *86*. karoˆˆ, *188*. karud, *178*. karuz, *173*. kaṛ, *75*, *146*. kaˆṛ, *40*, *75*, *121*, *146*. kaṛchí, *16*, *141*. kaṛuk, *104*. kaˆṛun, *59*. kas, *136*, *137*, *148*. kashṭrāil, *197*, *199*, *203*, *204*. kassí, *136*. kassuṇ, *39*. katte, *44*. katthe, *44*, *127*, *129*, *133*. kattho˜, *62*. katur, *75*. kaˆṭhí, *132*. kaṭ.í, *114*. ká˜, *82*. *105*. [-ká], *97*, *98*. kábli, *179*, *192*. kácú, *68*, *187*. káfur, *173*. ká˜g, *148*. kágut, *158*. kágut-pattur, *108*. káJ, *137*. kák, *197*, *200*, *202*. káká, *113*, *124*. káˆlá, *123*. kálá sháˆ, *111*. káluk, *172*. kálur, *197*. kánigo, *188*. káṇ, *21*. káṇá, *1*.. ká˜pí, *197*, *198*, *204*. káˆr, *170*. kárvái, *167*. kár zəbán, *163*, *188*. ká˜ shá˜, *107*. káshuk, *161*. kásti, *68*. káṭ, *201*, *202*. kává˜, *83*. kāi, *137*. kāiˆˆ, *61*, *127*, *128*. kāi˜c, *198*, *200*, *201*. kāi˜cí, *159*. kāidá, *191*. kāiḍá, *51*. kāiṛ, *152*. kaṇḍí, *53*. kaṇ˜k, *105*. kaṇl, *49*, *53*, *136*, *190*. kaṇ˜pṇí, *196*, *200*, *204*. kaṇṛ, *125*. kaṇṛá, *30*, *68*, *125*. kaṇṛá-zaṇˆr, *111*. kaṇṛíl, *93*. kaṇ˜sul, *199*, *204*. [kd], *203*. ke, *127*, *133*. keJhá, *52*. kelá, *50*. [kh], *42*, *171*, *172*. khədúí, *140*. khə˜ḍúrí, *92*. khəghál, *105*. khəghár, *105*. khəJíná, *133*. khəkháṛ, *90*. khəláṛá, *18*, *51*. khəlva˜g, *9*, *35*. khəlváṛá, *8*. khəreḍhá, *152*. khərkhag, *105*. khəvāiná, *51*. khəvíná, *133*. khab, *68*. khabbá, *123*. khaddhá, *37*, *41*. kha˜ḍ, *77*. kha˜ḍúrí, *45*. kha˜ḍvá, *54*. khaˆg, *64*, *105*. khakhṛí, *66*. khal, *11*, *91*, *131*. khalṛí, *91*. khaphaṇ, *162*. khaphuṇ, *171*. khappá, *136*. khappiá, *136*. khappí, *122*. khappuṇ, *38*. kharká, *137*, *171*. kharkhrá, *105*. kharbází, *171*. kharuk, *104*. khas, *65*. khas.í, *168*. khasmáṇá˜, *171*. khattá˜, *192*. khaṭ, *58*, *120*, *148* khaṭṭá, *136*. khaṭṭá bəṛíṭ, *114*. khaṭṭiá, *136*. kha˜ḍvá, *137*. khá, *6*, *87*, *114*. kháḍí, *148*. kháguṛ, *148*. kháJ, *4*, *38*. kháKh, *65*. kháṛá, *15*, *30*, *141*. kháta, *130*. kháú, *85*, *87*, *126*. khávuṇ, *54*, *94*. khávṇá, *95*. khāi˜dá, *53*. khāiná, *6*, *51*. khāiˆṛá, *148*. khaṇ˜d, *137*. khaṇˆrá, *148*. kheˆ, *137*. kheḍ, *122*. khenú, *45*, *120*. khetrí, *10*. khi˜ḍ, *77*. khiḍává, *88*. khiḍāiná, *129*. khiḍiár, *129*. khiˆJJuṇ, *42*. khiˆJṇá, *33*. khilár, *91*. khilur, *77*, *91*. khim, *152*. khiṛ, *77*. khisuk, *96*, *104*. khitti, *66*. khiṭṭí, *46*.

khoˆ, *32*, *127*, *171*. khodá, *171*. khoJá, *171*, *175*. khoṉ khál, *107*. kholṛá, *148*. khorí, *188*. khosṛá, *90*. khosṛe, *152*. khotá, *137*. khotur, *148*. khoˆvuṇ, *4*. khuár, *175*. khubbhuṇ, *35*, *65*. khubh, *41*, *76*. khudhur, *121*. khudur, *162*. khuḍḍhá, *36*. khul, *77*, *126*. khul məkhul, *110*. khur, *11*, *77*. khurjín, *163*, *171*. khurmáṇí, *171*, *187*. khurmáṇí˜, *186*. khuruc, *77*. khuruk, *77*, *96*, *104*. khus, *90*, *121*, *127*. khuṭ, *120*. khúˆ, *21*, *66*. khúˆí, *50*. kiárá, *16*, *49*. kiá˜s, *186*. kiccur, *20*. kidde, *133*. ki˜grá, *159*. kiJh, *44*, *65*, *66*, *120*, *133*. kiˆl, *75*, *105*. killá, *75*, *185*. kiˆnná˜, *42*, *46*. kiráṛ, *5*, *29*, *58*. kiráṛí, *83*. kiriá˜, *134*. kirkuṭ, *203*. kirmcí, *172*. kiruk, *96*, *104*, *105*. kisht, *162*. kitáh, *160*, *178*. kitṇá, *129*. kitṇá-cir, *20*. kitṇe, *133*. kitthe, *129*, *133*. kitti, *45*, *133*, *151*. kitvá˜, *129*. kive˜, *129*. kí, *126*, *133*. [-kí] *98*. kí˜, *128*. kímxá, *158*, *164*. kitá, *8*, *45*, *121*. koˆ, *32*, *136*. kofte, *181*. kol, *137*. kor, *123*. korá, *112*. koˆṛ, *41*, *43*, *46*. kosá, *42*. koshut, *178*. kothrá, *91*, *129*. koṭ, *199*, *200*, *202*. koṭhá shoṭhá, *107*. kríˆˆ, *62*, *122*. kroshíá, *203*. kuárá, *18*, *50*, *64*, *141*. kubbá, *152*. kubhár, *37*, *49*, *51*. kuccuṇ, *44*. kuchuṛ, *42*, *90*. kucuṇ, *94*. ku˜ḍ, *77*. kuḍhṇá, *95*. ku˜ḍul, *11*. kuhá˜ḍ, *187*. kuháṛí, *31*, *60*. ku˜J, *43*. kujh, *43*, *65*, *120*, *133*. ku˜Jí, *35*. kukkuṛ, *33*, *105*. kukṛá˜, *33*. kukṛí, *141*, *177*. kul, *138*. kulakhṇá, *9*. kulfí, *178*. kuˆllá, *158*. kumávuṇ, *40*. kunní, *77*. kunní˜, *48*, *52*, *83*. kuˆnní˜, *4*. kuráˆ, *167*. kuráˆn, *186*. kurkṭú, *105*. kurlá, *105*. kurub, *161*. kuruk, *161*. kuˆṛ, *146*. kuṛí, *110*, *137*. kuṛí ciṛí, *108*. kuṛío, *87*. kuṛmeṭá, *20*. kuṛtí, *137*, *165*. kuṛum, *35*. kuṛum-beṭá, *20*. kus, *168*. kusuk, *104*. kutkutáṛí, *105*. kuttá, *92*. kutthe, *133*. kutur, *75*. kuṭṭhá, *176*. kuzrut, *165*. kúc, *159*. kú˜grá, *105*. kú˜J, *39*, *105*. kúk, *104*. kúlá, *8*, *18*, *32*, *53*, *124*, *137*. kúˆní, *48*. kúṇ, *109*. kúṇ kassur, *109*. kúrká, *105*, *120*. kúṛí mucci, *110*.

[l], *28*, *60*, *115*, *128*, *167*, *187*, *200*. [l-], *7*, *29*. [-l], *92*. [-l-], *30*, *32*. ləgám, *165*. ləGám, *165*. ləmerá, *50*. ləmútrá, *16*, *141*. ləṛáí, *87*. ləṛáí bhiṛáí, *108*. ləṛáká, *98*. labbhú, *85*. la˜ḍoká, *68*. lafṭāin, *200*, *202*, *205*. lagh, *6*, *36*. lag ləveṛ, *112*. la˜gṛá, *189*. lak, *104*, *106*. lakh.á, *137*. lakkho, *87*. lambá, *35*. lamkuṇ, *35*. lammá, *35*. lammur, *201*. lamp, *197*, *200*, *204*. lam-səlammá˜, *112*. lamuk, *96*. laṛ, *78*. laṛí, *78*. lassí,

116. lʌt, *116*, *136*, *179.* lʌt:á, *167.* lʌttá, *108.* lʌttá mʌttá, *108.* lʌṭh, *120.* lʌṭuk, *78.* lʌvvá, *137*, *150* lʌztá˜, *170.* [-lá], *92*, *93.* lághá, *6.* lá˜guṛ, *189.* láJ, *179.* lál, *180*, *184.* lá^l, *66.* lálá, *113*, *124*, *137.* lálṭāin, *201*, *202.* lárá, *116.* láṭ, *136*, *197*, *200*, *202.* láṭikin, *200.* lávuṇ, *16*, *43*, *138.* lāik, *162*, *166*, *191.* lāiṇ, *199*, *200.* lāiṇ kətár, *109.* lāi˜s, *198.* lāu^, *137.* lāu˜k, *104*, *106.* lāu^ká, *31*, *67*, *97*, *99.* lāu^kiʌt, *99*, *100.* le, *17.* le^, *106.* legá, *99*, *151.* legí, *99.* leph, *189.* les, *42*, *93.* leslá, *93.* leṭuṇ, *38.* levi, *30*, *54.* liárá, *92.* lid, *45.* lifáfá, *173.* liláṛi, *28.* limmuṇ, *4*, *55.* liph, *16*, *33*, *66*, *68*, *153.* lishuk, *104.* lissá, *150.* littá, *34.* livʌnná, *108.* [-li], *92*, *93.* líá, *137.* lík, *67*, *122*, *131.* líkh, *4.* líṛe, *151.* lo^, *31.* lo^á, *11*, *33.* loí, *32.* loli, *114*, *116.* lo^ṛá, *78.* lo^ṛuu, *30.* (loṛ)vʌ˜dá, *35.* loth, *43*, *48*, *151.* loṭ, *201.* loṭus, *199*, *201*, *204.* luccá, *99.* luccá ləvʌnná˜, *108.* luccpuṇá, *40.* lucpuṇá, *99.* luddhí, *34.* luḍ, *78.* luggá, *29*, *34*, *65.* lu˜gí, *167*, *189.* luhá˜ḍá, *20*, *31*, *140.* luhár, *16*, *140.* lukṛí, *141.* lu^ṛ, *78.* lu^ṛká, *97.* lú˜, *53*, *61.* lúḍá, *78*, *151.* lú^lá, *131.* lúṇí, *28*, *137.* lúti, *188.*

[m], *60*, *164.* [m-], *110.* [-m-], *35.* məcán, *77.* mədán, *160*, *166*, *191.* mədárí, *64.* mədháṇí, *36*, *95*, *128.* mədín, *188.* mə˜getur, *121.* məhʌmmud, *179.* məhíná, *181.* məJáz, *187.* məJún, *184.* məlʌkvál, *94.* məlʌ˜g, *167.* 'məlái, *164*, *190.* məlhāu^rá, *20.* məl'hāurá, *139.* məlkápie˜, *21.* məmúlí, *181.* məniárí, *49.* mərí, *93.* məruk, *104.* məsáṇ, *134.* məshín, *200.* məshuk, *185.* məsít, *163*, *168*, *189.* məsváṇí, *95.* mətábí, *192.* məzál, *167.* məzāur, *165.* məzúr, *164.* mʌc, *77*, *106.* mʌcchur, *42.* mʌcuṛ, *77.* mʌ˜dá, *47.* mʌ˜dur, *136.* mʌdut, *160.* mʌ˜ḍ, *150.* mʌ˜g, *121.* mʌ˜gṇá, *95.* mʌ˜gtá, *100.* mʌ˜guṇ, *44*, *63.* mʌJ, *45.* mʌ˜J, *11*, *77.* mʌJh, *6*, *38*, *45*, *48*, *126.* mʌJhí˜, *62*, *85.* mʌ˜Jí, *77.* mʌkhá˜, *132.* mʌkhe, *132.* mʌkhuṇ, *137.* mʌkhú, *132.* mʌkkhá˜, *20.* mʌkṛí, *38.* mʌ^lum, *165*, *167.* mʌlluṇ, *9.* mʌlvesí, *150.* mʌlvesíá˜, *187.* mʌm.á, *165.* mʌmdʌstá, *188.* mʌmmá, *113.* mʌmṭí, *124*, *147*, *188.* mʌn, *38.* mʌ^ná˜, *185.* mʌṇí-áḍur, *202*, *205.* mʌ^nná˜, *180.* mʌnsí^á, *167.* mʌṇ, *166.* mʌrdává˜, *176.* mʌríʌl, *135.* mʌríʌl, *93.* mʌr mur, *107.* mʌruc, *4*, *44.* mʌṛud, *167*, *176.* mʌshkrá, *169.* mʌtbul, *187.* mʌthrá, *94.* mʌṭṭhá, *64.* mahendər, *134.* má, *17*, *113*, *124.* má^˜, *32*, *60*, *61*, *136.* má^˜dá, *47*, *48*, *124.* mághá, *4*, *17*, *33*, *66.* mái, *113.* mái˜, *114.* máJhá, *6*, *48*, *126.* má˜Juṇ, *63.* mákhú, *5*, *42*, *85*, *121*, *126.* má^l, *66*, *136.* máli, *84.* mál mʌttá, *108.* máluṇ, *140.* málush, *178.* mámá˜, *113*, *124.* mámlá, *185.* máne, *180*, *184.* máṇ bhár, *108.* máo˜, *114.* máriá˜, *154.* máro˜, *154.* máruc, *202*, *203*, *204.* máṛá, *125*, *150.* máṛí, *136.* másí, *20*, *61.* másí˜, *40.* máxub, *187.* maī˜, *127.* maī˜ ákhá˜, *20.* maīdá, *160.* maī˜ + dá, *127.* maī^˜ḍá, *90.* maī˜ḍhá, *120*, *127*, *150.* maīlá, *93.* maī^rá, *17.* maī^rbángí, *188.* maīJ, *160.* maīlí, *175*, *189.* [mb], *132.* mekh, *180.* melá, *6*, *61*, *83.* mem, *200.* memí, *114.* memṇá, *106.* me^ṇá, *152.* mesá, *48.* miád, *190.* miák, *104.* miákṇá, *106.* miál, *94.* midh, *46*, *106.* miJ, *133.* miJh, *45*, *122*, *133.* mil, *6.* miliár, *49*, *140.* milus, *153*, *188.* miṇ, *122.* miṇká, *142.* mishráṇí, *96.* mishur, *96.* mí˜tá˜, *137.* mí˜ṭ, *196*, *202.* miṭhá, *87.* miṭṭhá, *4*, *83*, *126.* miṭṭhá khʌ˜ḍ, *111.* miṭṭí, *58*, *61.* miṭṭí gʌṭṭá, *109.* mí^˜, *44*, *61*, *62*, *152.* miá˜, *94.* [mm], *132.* [-mm-], *35.* [mn], *203.* moiá, *46.* mojá, *54.* moklá, *137.* mo^lá, *33*, *43.* mo^lut, *191*, mom, *180.* mor, *18.* mo^r, *170*, *191.* morí, *137.* mo^ro˜, *31*, *87*, *137.* mo^ṛá, *136*, *137.* moṭur, *199*, *200*, *202.* [mp], *204.* [mu-], *110.* mucí, *110.* much, *43*, *115*, *150.* mudʌí, *190.* mudʌrsá, *168.* muddá, *176.* mu˜drí, *63*, *137.* mu˜ḍásá, *8.* muḍḍho˜, *87.* muḍh, *44.* mu˜g, *63.* muhʌrrum, *170.* muhá˜drá, *31.* muháṇá, *95.* muhár, *136*, *188.* muháṛí, *179.* muháṭh, *19.* mu˜J, *10*, muJhákhrá, *153.* muk, *34*, *100*, *137.* mukʌdmá, *176.* mukhʌḍ, *8*, *89.* mukkí, *5.* muklává, *100.* mukur, *178.* muláJá, *162.* muláJhá, *162.* mulukh, *162.* mulux, *164.* mumárukh, *137.* munná, *36.* munsub, *172.* muṇiád, *160*, *166.* muṇshí, *166.* muṇus, *38*, *43*, *137.* murgái, *164*, *171.* murkíá˜, *153*, *188.* murukṇá, *104.* muṛdá, *167.* musʌllí, *137.* musʌlluṇ, *94.* musháfur, *169*, *179.* mushál, *169*, *184.* mushki, *176.* mushuk, *176.* mutháJ, *162.* mutháJí, *179.* muthrál, *94.* muttá, *34.* muṭuk, *68.* muxut, *174.* muzerá, *165.* mú^˜, *60*, *61*, *62.* mú^˜dhián, *111.* mú^˜ muláJhá, *109.* múrtí, *134.* mútre-c, *11.* mútur, *4.*

[n], *166*, *167.* [n-], *29.* [-n], *36.* [-n-], *31.* nə˜, *21.* nəbáluk, *179.* nəbeṛ, *129.* nə˜geJ, *98.* nəheruṇ, *50*, *94.* nəkor, *112.*

nəlger, *133.* nəl'ger, *40.* nəmukar, *187.* nəmukur, *179.* nəmukkur, *192.* nəmúsh, *169.* nəpiṛ, *41, 67.* nərel, *52, 133.* nə'rel, *140.* nəthúr, *153.* nəveklá, *54, 93, 137.* nəvísh, *175.* nə(a)xálus, *112.* nəzik, *159, 164.* nəzir, *171.* nʌccuṇ, *45.* nʌḍhá, *137.* nʌḍḍhe, *86.* nʌg, *159.* nʌ̃g, *129.* nʌ̃gá, *63, 98.* nʌ̃geJ, *151.* nʌ̃g munʌ̃gá, *110.* nʌk, *61.* nʌkhnʌ́, *28.* nʌkká, *136.* nʌkk-o-nʌk, *111.* nʌllá, *136.* nʌp, *122.* nʌrmí̃, *186.* nʌruk, *134.* nʌshká, *68, 187.* nʌṭ, *58.* nʌvvá̃, *8.* nʌvvá̃ nəkor, *112.* naiṇ, *49.* ná^̃, *114, 122.* nádur, *174.* náí, *50, 84, 96.* nál, *137.* nánká, *97.* ná̃ pʌccá, *108.* ná^r, *191.* nárdáṇá, *179.* náṛ, *136.* nás, *8, 38.* ná̃ shá̃, *107.* nátá, *35, 40, 137.* návʌlud, *160, 167.* nāīb, *191.* nāīṇ, *49.* nɯ^̃, *31, 44, 53, 61, 133.* [-nd-], *10.* necá, *61, 166, 191.* nẽdrá, *32, 39, 50, 52, 68.* nefá, *173.* nekí, *87.* nem, *52.* neṛe, *5, 52, 86, 127.* neṛe treṛe, *110.* netrá, *10.* nezá'bází, *183.* [ng], *204.* [-ŋg-], *10.* nhá, *137.* [ni-], *67.* niáṇí, *54, 129, 133.* nibbhuṇ, *39.* nibh, *33.* nibuṛ, *129.* nich, *105, 106.* nicoṛ, *129.* nicṛun, *58.* nicuṛ, *129.* nigárá, *163.* nigh, *19.* nihálú, *85.* niháṇí, *54, 96, 133.* nihárá, *149.* nihárí, *170.* niJ, *67.* nikáˆ, *170.* nikhid, *4.* nikhuṭ, *137.* nikhṛun, *41.* nikká, *90, 98, 122, 126.* nikkul, *41.* niklá, *83.* nikṛá, *90.* nikul, *83.* nikur, *196, 200.* nik shuk, *109.* nim, *121.* nimáṇá̃, *142.* nimáshá̃, *137, 182, 186.* nimáz, *166.* nimmú, *167.* nimo Jháṇá, *121.* nimú̃, *186.* nindər, *131.* ni^̃o, *133.* ni^õ, *17.* nirá, *123.* ni'roiá, *140.* nishádur, *183.* nisháṇ, *178.* nisháṇ, *169.* nisháṇá, *179.* nisrí, *166.* nissur, *9, 11.* nit, *135.* nitár, *129.* nitáruṇ, *142.* nitruṇ, *41.* nitur, *129.* nixtá, *4, 141.* nílá cuhác, *111.* ní̃dur, *10, 21, 44, 63, 130.* [nj̃], *38.* [-nj̃-], *10.* [nn], *9.* [-nn-], *36.* [nṭ], *204.* nuksá, *68, 187.* nutfá, *162.* nuṭená, *6.* núˆ̃, *42, 61.* nú̃dhur, *66.* núṭ, *6, 29, 89.* [ṇ], *165, 166, 200.* [-ṇ], *94.* [-ṇ-], *31.* [-ṇá], *95.* [-ṇḍ-], *10.* [-ṇí], *95.*

[o], *46, 53, 127, 151, 180, 183, 184, 191, 196, 199.* [-o], *87.* [-o-], *197.* [-õ], *87.* odur, *46.* oe, *114.* ol, *180.* olú, *53, 85.* oprá, *8, 128.* oṛuk, *96.* oṭhá, *96.* oṭhí, *41.*

[p], *128, 163, 172, 202.* [p-], *110, 161.* [-p], *98, 161.* [-p-], *161.* pəchává̃, *54.* pəcvʌ^Já, *141.* pədāīsh, *191.* pəhárú, *85.* pə^Já^, *21.* pə̃Jeb, *161.* pə̃Jtá^li, *142.* pəkeJ, *98, 151.* pəlethuṇ, *94, 150.* pəleṭhá, *20.* pəlít, *163.* pəlitá, *161, 187.* pəlúti, *188.* pəpí^á, *106.* pəráli, *32.* pərcávuṇ, *38.* pərnálá, *31.* pərnívuṇ, *31.* pəroká, *97.* pərse, *133.* pərseo, *133.* pərtit, *108.* pəṛhákú, *82.* pəṛotrá, *60.* pəṛvál, *60.* pəsel, *92.* pəsittá, *100.* pətásá, *181.* pəthʌllá, *139, 140.* pəṭáká, *106.* pəṭo^lá, *93.* pəvá̃d, *16, 54, 123.* pʌb, *65.* pʌch, *39.* pʌcchá̃, *137.* pʌcci, *149.* pʌd, *106.* pʌddhi, *137.* pʌ^dh, *125.* pʌdhrá, *91.* pʌ̃ḍ, *137.* pʌghruṇ, *123.* pʌghur, *8.* pʌ̃gur, *150.* pʌ̃gut, *47.* pʌ^̃Jí, *141.* pʌ̃Jtá^lí, *44.* pʌk, *129.* pʌkh, *42, 68.* pʌkhuṛ, *90,* pʌkká, *98.* pʌkkuṛ, *147.* pʌl, *6, 138.* pʌllá, *53.* pʌlseṭí, *150.* pʌlṭuṇ, *198, 200, 201, 202, 204.* pʌlugh, *37.* pʌmbá, *152.* pʌr, *177.* pʌrcá, *159.* pʌrchá̃vá, *62.* pʌrcúṇ, *161.* pʌre, *11, 127.* pʌrkhuṇ, *16.* pʌrlá, *93.* pʌrmáná, *187.* pʌrnálá, *10.* pʌrnāīná, *51.* pʌrnívuṇ, *16 141.* pʌrseo, *10.* pʌssur, *39.* pʌṛ, *47.* pʌṛdʌ̃d, *60.* pʌṛdá, *138.* pʌttá, *108.* pʌtlá pətʌ̃g, *112.* pʌtthá, *139.* pʌṭ, *6, 136, 137.* pʌṭká, *97, 137.* pʌṭṭhá, *136.* pʌṭṭí, *84.* parseo, *47.* pá, *51.* [-pá], *99.* pá̃, *32, 61.* pácá, *191.* pál, *6.* pálush, *197.* páṇí, *81.* páṇí púṇí, *107.* páṇí sháṇí, *107.* pápṛí, *39.* pár, *6, 76, 129.* pá^r, *44, 133.* párkhʌttí, *172.* párlá, *93.* pás, *200.* pásá, *39, 136.* páskú, *85, 124.* pátrí, *84.* páṭ, *76.* páṭh, *134.* pává, *54, 123.* pāī, *51.* pāī̃ḍá, *125.* pāī^lá-Jeṭhá, *20.* pāī^lõ, *137.* pāīr, *49, 51.* pāī^r, *133.* pāīṛí, *51, 91.* pāī̃trí, *44, 141.* pāī̃ṭ, *199.* pāī̃ṭh, *128.* pɯ̃ḍ, *199.* pɯ̃ṇá, *49.* pɯ^r, *44, 133, 190.* pec, *159.* pec-kʌsh, *169.* peká, *97.* peke, *129.* pe^lí, *66.* peṛá, *152.* pesh, *180.* peshí, *181.* peshkí, *163.* [ph], *171, 172.* phəláṇá, *171.* phəlúdá, *163.* phətúí, *137.* phətú^í, *171.* ph^ddá, *105, 150.* phʌgguṇ, *40.* phʌk, *104.* phʌkká, *104.* phʌkkuṛ, *138.* phʌl, *11, 48.* phʌníər, *31, 91.* phʌṛuk, *105, 121.* phʌs, *41.* phʌṭṭá guḍḍá, *111.* phá^, *65.* phál, *11, 48.* phāī̃slá, *171.* phekṛe, *124.* pher, *6, 123.* pheṭí, *48.* phikká, *104, 126.* phikká go^á, *111.* phir, *6.* phirkí, *98.* phirní, *171.* phiruṇ, *41.* phis, *76, 105, 150.* phissí, *76.* phiṭ, *124.* phiṭá, *181.* Phoká, *104.* phrol, *123.* phũḍ, *64, 150.* phul, *11, 146.* phulá^, *66, 140.* phupphí, *113, 124, 137.* phur, *146.* phuruṇ, *41.* phuṭ, *64, 77.* phuṭáṛ, *77, 90.* phuṭṭí, *77.* phuṭṭlá̃, *77.* phúk, *104.* phúṛí, *150.* phúṭá̃, *77.* piáJ, *138.* piárá, *49.* picche, *5, 86, 121.* pichlá, *93.* pichokuṛ, *90.* pidhrɯ^rá, *33.* pĩḍá, *137.* pighiáṛ, *90,* pĩJ, *106.* pĩJuṇ, *10.* pikɯ̃ṛá,

91. **pikaṇṛí**, *91.* **pilattuṇ**, *99.* **pin**, *149, 197, 200.* **pinní˜**, *137.* **pinsul**, *197, 204.* **pio**, *49, 113, 137.* **piplá mĩ˜ṭ**, *34, 200.* **pipli**, *136.* **pippul**, *4, 34.* **pisháb**, *182.* **pistá**, *160.* **pistaul**, *196, 201, 205.* **pitraũ^rá**, *20, 139.* **piviná**, *138.* **pígh**, *36.* **pík**, *172, 187.* **pílá**, *16, 52, 93, 99.* **piná**, *138.* **pípá**, *106, 161.* **pipṇi**, *106.* **pír**, *166, 180.* **piṛ**, *30, 136.* **pi^ṛá**, *30.* **pi^ṛi**, *136.* **pívuṇ**, *96.* **pi^vun**, *64.* **pleṭiar**, *203, 205.* **po^**, *32.* **poc**, *29.* **po˜gre**, *153.* **polá**, *123.* **pot**, *4.* **potrá**, *46.* **potuk**, *109.* **prakṭis**, *197, 203.* **praimri**, *198, 203, 204.* **prúṇ**, *99.* **[pu-]**, *110.* **pucchuṇ**, *9, 46.* **puch pərtit**, *108.* **puch guch**, *109.* **pug**, *76, 123, 147.* **puJ**, *76, 123, 147.* **puháṛá**, *90.* **pul**, *177.* **pulád**, *182.* **pulṭus**, *199.* **pulus**, *197, 198.* **pun**, *134.* **[-puṇ]**, *99.* **pupul**, *106.* **puráṇá**, *11.* **purmashi**, *134.* **puṛá**, *30.* **pusháb**, *183.* **pushák**, *182, 192.* **putrá˜**, *11.* **putrete**, *98.* **puttur**, *47, 98.* **púdṇá**, *161, 183.* **pú˜g**, *153.* **pú˜g pá˜g**, *108.* **púJá**, *134.* **púJh**, *36.* **púJhuṇ**, *44.*

[r], *60, 115, 149, 166, 167, 187, 202.* **[r-]**, *7, 29,* **[-r]**, *68, 91, 151.* **[-r-]**, *32, 68, 88, 110, 149.* **rəcháṇi**, *95, 133.* **rə˜ḍepá**, *99,* **rə˜grúṭ**, *198, 201.* **rəJishṭri**, *196.* **rəlisṭri**, *196, 205.* **rəkáb**, *158.* **rəkebi**, *183.* **rəshid**, *169, 200, 201.* **rə'tá^ṇá˜**, *140.* **rətvá^˜**, *54.* **rəvaĩt**, *166.* **rəvish**, *169, 180.* **rəzáva˜d**, *165.* **rab**, *176.* **rac**, *150.* **rach**, *42.* **rach ká^n**, *109.* **rachváṇi**, *133.* **ra˜ḍi**, *10.* **rag**, *156.* **rakh**, *42.* **ral**, *22, 78.* **ramzán**, *179.* **ran**, *137.* **ran kan**, *110.* **raṛá məda̐n**, *111.* **raspas**, *111.* **rassá**, *135, 137, 147.* **rassi**, *116.* **rasud**, *168.* **rat**, *116.* **rattá**, *34.* **rattá lál**, *111.* **rattik**, *97.* **raxut**, *176.* **ratá^ṇá**, *36.* **rá**, *175.* **[-rá]**, *91, 92.* **rá^**, *180.* **rádho**, *87.* **rá˜glá**, *93.* **rákhá**, *126.* **rá^ shá^**, *107.* **ráshuk**, *68.* **ráti**, *84.* **rá^vuṇ**, *31.* **rázi**, *171.* **rázi bázi**, *109.* **rázi'nává˜**, *183.* **raũ**, *183.* **raũ^**, *31.* **raũlá**, *93, 106.* **raũlá gaũlá**, *108.* **raũlá rappá**, *112.* **[-re]**, *92.* **re˜ḍhi**, *132, 153.* **regmár**, *167.* **re^ṛ**, *78.* **reshum**, *137, 166, 181.* **reṭhá**, *15, 45.* **rezá**, *173.* **rich**, *40, 45, 46.* **ri˜J**, *160.* **riJJhuṇ**, *45.* **ripoṭ**, *202.* **ripuṭ**, *200, 202.* **ri^ṛ**, *106.* **riṛuk**, *104.* **[-ri]**, *92.* **ris**, *15, 45, 120.* **risṛparisi**, *110.* **ro**, *6.* **roḍá**, *30.* **roḍi ṭi˜ḍ**, *112.* **rok**, *65.* **rol**, *78, 123.* **roluṇ**, *29.* **roṇá**, *93.* **roṭ**, *75, 78.* **ro^ṛ**, *75.* **roṭi ráṭi**, *108.* **roṭi shoṭi**, *107.* **roze'dár**, *183.* **rukkhá sukká**, *111.* **rul**, *78.* **rumáli**, *182.* **ru^ṛ**, *78.* **russá**, *4.* **russuṇ**, *38.* **rut**, *45.* **ruvaĩná**, *6.* **ruziná**, *182.* **ruzgár**, *182.* **ruzgári**,

182. **rú^ṛ rá^ṛ**, *107.* **[ṛ]**, *30, 41, 60, 148, 189.* **[ṛ-]**, *30.* **[-ṛ]**, *90, 127, 146.* **[-ṛ-]**, *30.* **[ṛá]**, *189.* **[-ṛá]**, *90, 91, 99, 149.* **[-ṛi]**, *51, 91.*

[s], *29, 128, 168, 169.* **[-s]**, *97.* **səbá^lá**, *169.* **səbhál**, *141.* **səbhálun**, *37.* **səbúṇ**, *168, 182.* **səbú˜ṇ**, *186.* **səbút**, *168.* **sədán**, *187.* **səgo^**, *17, 19.* **səhaĩli**, *135.* **səis**, *190.* **səkári**, *34.* **səkĩ˜ṭ**, *202, 204.* **səkuttur**, *20.* **səlá^**, *170.* **səláb**, *191.* **səlám**, *167.* **səleṭ**, *203.* **səl'háJ**, *139.* **səlúṇá**, *53, 138.* **səmosá**, *176, 179, 186.* **səne^á**, *4, 32.* **səntá^lí**, *128.* **səpárush**, *172.* **səplú˜gá**, *99.* **sərá˜**, *168, 175, 186.* **səráp**, *134.* **sərbatt**, *135.* **sərút**, *89.* **sətammur**, *202.* **sətaĩ˜ṭh**, *128.* **səváiá**, *54, 82.* **sə˜vák**, *32, 38.* **səvál**, *22.* **sə˜váṇi**, *96.* **səvíṭur**, *197.* **sabhe**, *138.* **sabho**, *133.* **sac**, *135.* **saccí mucci**, *110.* **saddhur**, *68, 151.* **sa˜dhiá**, *134.* **saḍdhá**, *29, 36.* **saggo˜**, *137.* **sagh**, *36.* **sa˜gul**, *37, 45.* **sa^i**, *170.* **saídá˜**, *185.* **saJJá**, *11, 123, 136.* **saJrá**, *92.* **sakhṇá**, *151.* **sakká**, *31, 98, 151.* **saliháJ**, *39.* **samián**, *138, 183.* **sammun**, *196, 200.* **sammur**, *151.* **san**, *176.* **sa^n**, *36.* **sap**, *34, 63.* **sapgo^**, *34.* **sapṇi**, *34.* **sar**, *189.* **sarba˜dhi**, *68, 132.* **sarfá**, *137.* **sarghi**, *188.* **sa^riá˜**, *47.* **sar par**, *189.* **sarsá**, *147.* **sarvat**, *10.* **saṛú**, *126.* **sas**, *21.* **sat**, *34.* **satcár**, *34.* **sathur**, *64.* **satt**, *135.* **satte səvele**, *112.* **sattur**, *138.* **saṭṭuṇ**, *137.* **savvá**, *21, 51, 142.* **savádhán**, *67.* **saḍh**, *64.* **sá^**, *33, 44, 137.* **sábú**, *201.* **sádhú**, *134.* **sáḍá**, *133.* **sáḍhú**, *20, 152.* **ságu**, *8.* **sá˜g**, *137.* **sáĩ˜**, *40, 50, 61.* **sá˜Jhá**, *132,* **sáji**, *171.* **sák**, *137.* **sákh**, *121.* **sálá**, *38.* **sáluṇ**, *138.* **sámi**, *192.* **sá^ṇak**, *159.* **sá˜si**, *151.* **sáṭifikuṭ**, *198, 202.* **sáú**, *5, 17, 67, 126.* **sává**, *32, 38, 124.* **sává kacṛá**, *111.* **sává kəcúr**, *111.* **sáve˜ saṭṭe**, *112.* **sávul**, *165.* **sávuṇ**, *9, 40.* **saĩ˜**, *133.* **saĩkul**, *198.* **saĩl**, *191.* **saĩṇ**, *18, 51.* **saĩt**, *168.* **saũ^˜**, *17, 62.* **saũ˜**, *133.* **saũdá**, *190.* **saũdá suluf**, *109.* **saũkhá**, *129.* **saũ˜kuṇ**, *152.* **saũ˜kuṇ-puttur**, *20.* **saũ^rá**, *7, 32, 67, 98.* **saũ^re**, *129.* **se**, *21.* **sebá**, *180.* **se^lí**, *147, 189.* **se^rá**, *17, 33, 139, 147.* **se˜vká˜**, *153,* **[sh]**, *168, 169, 196, 200.* **[sh-]**, *107.* **shəkúfá**, *181.* **shəpárush**, *179.* **shəráfut**, *179, 181.* **shəri^˜**, *140.* **shərmákul**, *92.* **shərmálú**, *94.* **shatán**, *191.* **shəúr**, *185.* **sharmi˜dia˜**, *178.* **sharum**, *92.* **shábá**, *133.* **shábus**, *169, 170, 189.* **shábush**, *133.* **sháˆí**, *169, 190.* **shálá**, *187, 189.* **shánti**, *134.* **shaĩ^r**, *191.* **shaĩ^ri**, *84.* **shaĩt**, *163, 169.* **shaũ˜k**, *186.* **shaũ^r**, *190.* **shex**, *174, 191.* **shiḍ**, *197.* **shika^Jbi**, *178.* **shikár**, *166.* **shikaĩt**, *191.* **shipá^í**, *161, 190.*

shishut, *160*. shilá, *134*. shirí, *187*. shodhá, *99*. shodhpuṇá, *99*. shorá, *169*. shoˆrá, *191*. shorí, *84*. shorúá, *164*. shox, *174*. shrí˜, *29*, [shṭ], *203*. shukráná, *176*. shukur, *176*. shupáˆí, *169*. shuped, *169*, *172*, *181*. shuráˆí, *178*, *190*. shurnáˆí, *169*. shurú, *178*, *184*. shúk, *104*, *107*. shúm, *180*: siaí, *134*. siá, *134*. siálá, *5*, *19*, *49*. siáṇá, *98*. siáṇəp, *98*. siddhá tír, *112*. siḍḍá, *133*. sí˜g, *46*. sɪ˜gh, *65*. sihátá, *133*. siJ, *121*. si˜Jáf, *160*, *173*. si˜Jhátá, *133*. siJJuṇ, *65*. sikh, *4*, *100*. sikhʌ˜duṛ, *100*. sikho, *86*. silvár, *169*. sinná páṇí, *112*. siṇí˜, *43*, *83*. sippí, *188*. sirá˜d, *123*. sirádh, *134*. sirá˜dú, *85*, *123*, *126*. sirguṭ, *200*, *204*, *205*. sirmuṭ, *202*. shishun, *197*: siṭṭá, *137*. sivái, *87*. sí, *29*, *52*, *90*, *107*, *133*. sí˜, *62*, *133*. síkh, *171*. síruk, *52*, siṛ, *4*, *90*. sísá, *169*, *170*. sítá˜, *62*, *128*. siṭí, *107*. [sk], *203*. sleṭí, *204*. so, *21*. soghá, *151*. soJhá, *127*. soˆlá˜, *30*. soˆṇá, *29*, *98*, *139*. soˆṇí, *84*. [ss], *9*. suál, *175*, *190*. sucum, *134*. sudh, *122*. suḍh, *64*. sufná˜, *135*. sugh, *64*. su˜guṛ, *35*. su˜Já, *38*. suJh, *122*. sukhallá, *93*. (sukh) sá˜d, *35*. sukká, *4*, *41*, *67*. sukká rəɽʌ˜g, *112*. sukkí, *83*. sum, *177*. sumitrá, *134*. sumitrá˜, *128*. sunárá, *49*. suntá˜, *192*. suṇ, *46*, *100*. suˆṇʌp, *98*. suṇí, *126*. suṇí˜d, *100*. suṇí ʋʌ˜J, *126*. suṇuk, *104*. sur, *40*, *135*. surʌtthá, *88*, *91*. suresh, *134*. surheJ, *98*, *151*. surJəní˜, *187*. surug, *134*. suˆrugh, *64*, *65*. suruk, *104*. surxí, *168*. suthrá, *91*, *129*. suthuṇ, *176*. súd, *180*. súf, *180*. súí, *17*, *50*. súr, *19*, *29*, *52*, *185*. súˆrí, *153*. sútur, *5*. sútrá, *11*. súvuṇ, *4*.

[t], *39*, *88*, *162*, *174*, *201*. [t-], *160*. [-t], *88*, *99*, *159*. [-t-], *160*. təbáx, *165*. təbelá, *175*, *182*. tə˜dúr, *124*. təlá, *17*, *30*, *164*. təlāísh, *183*. təmácá, *176*, *186*. təmáshá, *165*. tərík, *160*, *181*. tərkírá, *100*. təún, *162*. təvít, *174*, *185*. tʌ˜d, *21*. tʌdduṇ, *130*. tʌ˜dúr, *187*. tʌ˜g, *159*. tʌkmá, *160*. tʌkmá˜, *187*. tʌkrár, *158*. tʌkɽá, *69*. tʌl, *76*. tʌmmú˜, *176*. tʌnxá, *175*. tʌṇ, *31*. tʌp, *137*. tʌr, *76*. tʌrsʌllí, *187*. tʌrus, *168*. tʌɽká, *104*, *106*. tʌɽuk, *104*. tʌsbí, *170*. tʌslí, *189*, *192*. tʌssá, *39*. tʌssá tríháiá, *111*. tʌttá tel, *112*. tʌ˜g, *137*. tarle, *137*. tá, *17*, *21*. tá˜, *17*, *21*. táb, *180*. táiá, *124*. tái˜, *138*. ták, *162*. táki, *137*. tákɽí, *91*. táná, *184*. táne, *162*. tárpín, *201*. táɽ, *30*, *106*. tāí˜ḍá, *90*. tāí˜ḍhá, *120*, *127*, *128*. te, *21*. tel, *46*. teˆrá˜, *132*. tesá, *160*, *170*, *181*. tetrá, *28*, *123*, *146*. tetrá metrá, *110*. tetre metre, *33*. teˆtrí, *128*, *132*. tez, *180*. [th], *196*, *201*. thʌbbá, *29*. thʌḍ, *201*, *202*. thʌ˜J, *38*, *41*. thʌk, *97*. thʌl, *41*. thʌm, *37*. thʌṇ, *31*. thʌrí, *41*. thʌɽá pəláṇá, *108*. thʌtthá, *105*. thá, *133*. tháṇedár, *176*, *182*. thápɽá, *48*. thʌ˜ˆ, *133*, *170*. thʌ˜ pʌttá, *108*. theṭur, *199*, *201*, *207*. thiddá, *141*. thíˆddá, *64*. thigɽí, *151*. thiruk, *104*. thiṛ, *105*, *153*. thiṛbá, *153*. thí, *52*. thiá, *41*. thobá, *43*, *100*, *105*. thoɽá, *91*. [-thr-], *152*. thuk, *104*. thuṇ, *36*. thuṛ, *126*. thúm, *168*. [ti], *126*. tiár, *175*. tilkuṇ, *104*. tiluk, *104*. tiriákul, *92*. tirkálá˜, *137*. tiṛ, *106*. titrál, *94*. tittur, *33*, *94*, *147*. tíkuṇ, *130*, *138*. tílá, *93*, *131*. tír, *180*. tobá˜, *186*. tobrá, *181*. toˆḍhá, *127*. tolvá˜, *99*. top, *161*, *181*. toɽe, *137*, *149*. toshá, *169*. totá, *162*. totí, *114*. toto, *114*. trʌḍḍá, *115*, *149*. trʌ˜guṛ, *124*. trʌk, *38*, *100*. trʌkkuṇ, *69*. trʌklá, *38*, *68*. trʌkɽá, *69*, *90*. trʌkɽí, *68*, *91*, *137*. trʌp, *69*, *106*. trʌṭṭhá, *59*. trá˜, *138*. trámá˜, *40*, *69*. tráɽá, *106*. trát, *106*. trávuṭ, *163*. trāí, *51*, *106*. treḍhá, *68*. trel, *138*. treˆṭh, *128*, *132*. treˆvur, *54*. trí˜, *46*. triási, *132*. trihájá, *68*. trikkhá, *44*, *65*. trikkhí trikkhí, *111*. trikkul, *149*. trim, *106*. tritáˆlí, *132*. trivʌ˜Já, *132*. tríá, *46*, *92*, trímut, *40*, *137*. tríṇá, *122*. troɽ, *6*, *138*. truˆḍ, *75*. trum, *106*. truṭ, *6*, *75*. trú˜, *106*. [tt], *39*, *132*. [tth], *176*. tudhá˜˜, *120*. tudhá˜, *151*. tuḍḍá, *133*. tu'lái, *139*. tummuṇ, *132*. tumṇá, *35*. tunnuṇ, *9*. [-tuṇ], *99*. tuˆrá, *162*. turum, *198*, *205*. turut, *40*, *135*. tusáḍá, *133*. tusiḍḍá, *133*. tusmʌttur, *11*. *129*. tutlá, *106*. tút, *180*. tútṇí, *106*.

[ṭ], *58*, *114*, *201*, *202*. [-ṭ], *88*, *89*, *92*. [-ṭ-], *89*. ṭəṭíˆrí, *106*, *140*. ʈʌbh, *146*. ʈʌḍ, *146*. ʈʌ˜ḍ, *153*. ʈʌ˜ḍul, *202*. ʈʌ˜g, *64*, *75*, *120*. ʈʌk, *104*, *123*. ʈʌkká, *64*. ʈʌkkur, *104*. [-ṭá], *88*, *151*. ṭá˜gá, *197*, *200*. ṭál, *203*. ṭāíˆl ṭəkor, *109*. ṭāím, *198*, *201*. ṭāí˜ṇá, *114*. ṭāír, *7*. [ṭh], *41*, *59*. ṭhəkor, *104*, *105*. ʈhʌˆḍá ṭhok, *111*. ʈhʌˆḍḍá, *153*. ʈhʌḍḍá-ʈhár, *112*. ʈhʌˆḍḍhá, *59*. ʈhʌḍḍíá˜, *153*. ʈhʌggí, *84*, *87*. ʈhʌk, *75*, *104*, *105*, *149*. ʈhʌm, *59*. ʈhʌp, *106*. ʈhʌppuṇ, *38*. ʈhʌr, *59*, *149*. ʈhʌ˜ká, *104*. ṭhelá, *83*. ṭhil, *105*. ṭhok, *75*, *104*, *106*. ṭhuk, *75*, *104*. ṭhullá, *7*, *59*. ṭhullá sútur, *112*. ṭhuṭh, *64*. ṭhú˜gá, *100*. ṭikʌs, *47*. ṭikká, *28*, *58*. ṭikuṭ, *196*, *204*. ṭip, *106*. ṭiṭáˆṇá, *7*, *106*. [-ṭí], *89*. ṭín, *196*, *200*. ṭíshun, *203*. ṭoˆ, *58*. ṭoḍá, *114*. ṭok, *77*, *127*. ṭokrá, *77*. ṭopá, *7*. ṭoṭá, *97*. ṭoṭká, *97*. ʈrʌ˜k, *200*,

201. **[ʈʈ]**, *58, 132.* **[ʈʈh]**, *41, 59, 176.* **ʈubbí**, *76.* **ʈu˜ḍ**, *58.* **ʈu˜ḍá**, *10.* **ʈu˜d mu˜d**, *111.* **ʈu˜g**, *75, 120.* **ʈuk**, *77, 104, 106, 127.* **ʈukur**, *91.* **ʈuṇḍá**, *28.* **ʈur**, *58.* **ʈurí á**, *85.* **ʈúl**, *197.*

[u], *43, 45, 46, 47, 107, 126, 140, 141, 142, 147, 177, 178, 179. 183, 184, 196, 197, 198.* **[u-]**, *31.* **[-u]**, *121.* **[-u-]**, *94.* **[uá]**, *50.* **ubʌt**, *121,* **ubál**, *75.* **ubáˆl**, *75, 128.* **ubásí**, *8, 40.* **ubbhá**, *40, 44.* **ubbur**, *10, 34.* **ubhʌrná**, *136.* **ub'rāiná**, *139.* **ubur**, *139.* **ucakká**, *98.* **ucává˜**, *33, 99, 142.* **uccá**, *33, 63, 83, 98.* **uccá Jhikká**, *110.* **ucec**, *98.* **ucṭuṇ**, *34.* **udde**, *127.* **udhálá**, *32.* **udhár**, *11, 142.* **udhárí**, *84.* **udhul**, *3, 146.* **uḍ**, *3, 76, 146.* **uḍár**, *76, 91.* **uḍáú**, *85.* **uḍávuṇ**, *30.* **uḍík**, *4, 137.* **uḍur**, *91.* **ugáˆ**, *188.* **ugálí**, *34.* **ughruṇ**, *34.* **ughur**, *34, 121.* **ugluṇ**, *34.* **ugráˆvuṇ**, *10, 40.* **uˆgruṇ**, *4.* **uJár**, *129.* **u˜Je**, *127.* **uJuṛ**, *129.* **ukhuṛ**, *146.* **ukká**, *34, 148.* **ukká pukká**, *110,* **ukká sukká**, *111.* **ukkuṇ**, *34, 40.* **ukˈrená**, *139.* **ukruṇ**, *139.* **ukṛú˜**, *152.* **ul**, *76.* **ulʌgghuṇ**, *64.* **uláruṇ**, *32.* **ullugh**, *9.* **ulur**, *76.* **um**, *148.* **umá**, *87.* **umáú**, *87.* **umrú**, *176.* **umur**, *176, 184.* **unʌtrí**, *9.* **unáb**, *178, 184.* **unhʌttər**, *9.* **unn**, *44.* **uˆnní˜**, *6, 9.* **unnú**, *85.* **uṇ**, *123.* **[-uṇ]**, *94, 95.* **uṇánve˜**, *9.* **uṇásí**, *9.* **uṇtáˆlí**, *9.* **upphul**, *34.* **urár**, *129.* **ure**, *127.* **urere**, *92.* **urlá**, *7.* **urlí**, *93.* **usʌn**, *83.* **usáˆ˜**, *83.* **usár**, *4, 6.* **ushbází**, *161, 164, 185, 189, 192.* **ushmán**, *169, 181, 183.* **usur kusur**, *109, 189.* **utáṇá**, *31, 142.* **uthrú**, *105.* **utrá˜J**, *63, 130.* **utte**, *21.* **uttuṇ**, *137.* **utvá˜**, *130.* **uṭh**, *3, 21, 41, 63, 76, 90, 136.* **uṭhávuṇ**, *30.* **uṭhuṛ**, *76, 90.* **uzú**, *173, 175.* **[ú]**, *45, 52, 53, 107, 114, 131, 164, 181, 184.* **[-ú]**, *5, 85, 87, 126.* **[-úá]**, *88.* **[-ú˜gá]**, *99.* **úgh**, *131.* **ú˜gh**, *44.* **úí**, *50.*

[v], *53, 54, 64, 94, 163, 164, 165, 188, 196.* **[v˜]**, *165.* **[v-]**, *7, 11.* **[-v-]**, *30, 31, 33, 54, 175.* **[-v˜]**, *31.* **vəcherá**, *40, 50.* **vədám**, *164, 192.* **vədhái**, *137.* **vədhík**, *97.* **vədífá**, *174.* **vəḍiái**, *87.* **və˜gárná**, *107.* **vəholá**, *93.* **vəhúsh**, *170.* **vəkíl**, *158.* **vəlá**, *73.* **vəlád**, *88.* **vəláká**, *76.* **vəlāit**, *191.* **vəlheṭ**, *73, 76, 121, 151.* **vəlíd**, *76.* **vəlṭoˆá**, *7, 58, 68,* **vəṇJárá**, *20.* **vəpár**, *135.* **vərtárá**, *92.* **vəraˆ˜ṭ**, *201.* **vəsebá**, *99.* **vəsíut**, *190.* **vʌcchá**, *42, 131.* **vaḍh**, *126.* **vʌdhrí**, *10.* **vʌ˜ḍ**, *35, 77.* **vʌḍḍá**, *87.* **vʌḍḍhí**, *45, 83.* **vʌḍká**, *138.* **vʌg**, *39.* **vʌgguṇ**, *7.* **vʌJ**, *37, 75, 131.* **vʌ˜J**, *75.* **vʌ˜Já˜**, *52.* **vʌJhá**, *64.* **vʌJJuṇ**, *38.* **vʌ˜Jo**, *86.* **vʌ˜Juṇ**,

63, 94. **vʌkh**, *68.* **vʌkh-o-vʌkh**, *111.* **vʌkhrá**, *92, 123, 137.* **vʌkkhí**, *42.* **vʌl**, *44, 73, 76.* **vʌlgət**, *125.* **vʌlgut**, *88.* **vʌlluṇ**, *38.* **vʌngí**, *99.* **vʌnní˜**, *16, 52.* **vʌn pəvʌnná**, *111* **vʌṇJárá**, *141.* **vʌṇuJ**, *140.* **vʌˆrá**, *39, 47.* **vʌrdush**, *175.* **vʌrfí**, *164.* **vʌrká**, *190.* **vʌrtávuṇ**, *10.* **vʌrtāiná**, *129.* **vʌrtuṇ**, *188.* **vʌrtuṇ vəlevá**, *109, 188.* **vʌruf**, *164, 173.* **vʌrut**, *134.* **vʌṛ**, *77, 151.* **vʌṛí**, *30, 131.* **vʌssul**, *138.* **vʌsul**, *188.* **vʌttursákh**, *28, 121.* **vʌṭ**, *58, 77.* **vʌṭṇá**, *19, 83.* **vʌṭṭá**, *7, 67.* **vʌṭṭe**, *86.* **vʌṭṭí**, *52.* **vʌṭṭuṇ**, *38.* **vʌṭváṇí**, *31.* **vʌxut**, *164, 174.* **vá**, *17, 21, 51.* **[-vá˜]**, *99.* **váˆ˜dá**, *138.* **vádhá**, *126.* **váfur**, *174.* **vág**, *40, 130.* **váˆl**, *84.* **vák**, *124.* **vákub**, *161.* **[-vál]**, *94.* **váˆṇ**, *44.* **vápur**, *122.* **vápus**, *161.* **vár**, *133.* **várus**, *168.* **váṛá**, *137.* **vá shá**, *107.* **váskaṭ**, *137, 201, 205.* **váxub**, *172.* **vāi**, *114.* **vāiˆ˜gí**, *7, 44.* **vāiṇ**, *51, 127.* **vāisrá**, *198, 200.* **vāiˆtur**, *64.* **vaˆ**, *131.* **vaˆṛ**, *90.* **ved**, *134.* **veg**, *11.* **vel**, *73.* **velá**, *8, 11.* **veˆlá**, *31, 138.* **velṇá**, *95.* **ver**, *133.* **veˆṛá**, *41.* **viáJh**, *153.* **vicárá**, *180.* **vicchú**, *40.* **vickárlá**, *93.* **vidiá˜**, *185, 191.* **vigár**, *159, 164.* **vigárí**, *182.* **vigghá**, *67.* **vighá**, *33.* **viJáˆ**, *7, 18, 33, 54, 100, 137.* **vijáˆ**, *54.* **viJí˜duṛ**, *100.* **vikáú**, *85.* **vikkuṇ**, *39.* **viˆl**, *147.* **viˆllá**, *189.* **virágá**, *140.* **virásut**, *168.* **vis**, *135.* **visáˆ**, *5, 33, 40.* **viskí**, *201.* **visur**, *8.* **vith**, *20, 120, 141.* **viṭh**, *7, 41.* **viˆ**, *7.* **viṇí**, *153.* **viˆṇí**, *188.* **vír**, *138.* **viṭ**, *121, 147.*

[x], *158, 164, 171, 172, 174.* **xəlás**, *168.* **xənzír**, *173.* **xəráb**, *181.* **xətizá˜**, *163, 165.* **xʌbur**, *178.* **xʌbur ʌdur**, *112.* **xʌfkí**, *163.* **xʌfxán**, *164.* **xʌngáˆ˜**, *163, 186.* **xanzír**, *181.* **xʌruc**, *159.* **xʌsum**, *137.* **xʌt**, *162, 173.* **xáb**, *175.* **xáˆməxáˆ**, *175.* **xá˜ná˜**, *186.* **xár**, *173, 175.* **xár xu˜duk**, *109.* **xátur**, *166.* **xaū˜d**, *173.* **xizmut**, *165.* **xo**, *183.* **xudáí**, *190.* **xurmáṇí**, *164.* **xushámdí**, *181.*

[-y-], *33.*

[z], *158, 165, 170, 172, 173, 174.* **zəbán**, *170.* **zəbání**, *173.* **zə˜gál**, *173.* **zənání**, *137.* **zənúná**, *166, 170.* **zəˆrílá**, *189.* **zʌn**, *166, 171.* **zʌrək**, *97.* **zál**, *137.* **zámní**, *179.* **zát**, *170.* **zaūˆr**, *170, 190.* **ziádá**, *190.* **ziásti**, *179.* **zid**, *173, 176.* **ziddí**, *171.* **zikur**, *178.* **zilá**, *185.* **ziˆmí˜**, *186.* **zín**, *180.* **zer**, *180.* **zulum**, *165, 173.* **zummá˜**, *180.*

INDEX OF SOURCE SOUNDS

[Where no language is indicated, it is PI, OIA or Sanskrit. MI (Middle Indian) includes Pali, Pk. (Prakrit) and Apa. (Apabhramsa). Per. (Persian) includes Arabic and Turkish, because sounds from the latter languages have come to us through Persian. Similarly E. (English) includes all European languages with which Lahndi area had had no direct contact.]

a *44*, (Pk.) *126*, (Per.) *177ff*, *184*, (E. ʌ, ə) *196*. ɐ (E.) *195*. a- *3*, *15*. -a- *4*, *16*, *43*, *45*, *140*. -a *21*, (Pk.) *85*. a a (MI.) *49*, (Pk.) *50*, *51*, (Per.) *191*. a-a (Pk.) *51*. -aá- (Pk.) *17*, *51*. -aḍao (Pk.) *89*. -ae (Pk.) *86*, (E.) *192*. -aha- (Per.) *190*. -aha (Apa.) *86*. -ahi͂ (Apa.) *84*. ai *45*, *46*, (MI.) *49*, (Pk.) *51*, (Per.) *191*, (E.) *195*. ai- *16*. -ai- *140*. -ai (Pk.) *86*. -aka *82*. -akaḥ *88*, *96*, *125*. -ake *86*. -akiya *97*. -ala- *93*. -am *21*, *62*, *87*. -anam *94*, *95*. aṅga- *99*. -aniya *83*. -aṇaam (Pk.) *83*. ao (MI.) *49*. -apa- *17*. -asya *86*. -a ta *86*. -atha (Pk.) *86*. -ati *86*. au *46*, (MI.) *49*, (Per.) *190*, (E.) *196*. au- *16*. -ava- *53*, (MI.) *17*, *53*.

á *4*, *140*, (Per.) *180ff*, *185*. á- *3*, *15*. -á- *4*, *6*, *44*. áa (Pk.) *51*. áá (MI) *49*, (Pk.) *51*. á+á (Pk.) *127*. ái (MI.) *49*, (Pk.) *51*, (Per.) *191*, *199*, (E.) *198*. á-i, *50*. -áka- *83*. -ála *92*, *93*. -álu *91*. --ámi *83*. -ánaka *95*. -ánám *18*, *83*. áni *18*. -áni *62*, *94*, *95*, *129*. -áníká *95*. -ápa *83*. -ápakaḥ *87*. -ápika *87*. -ápuka *87*. -átá *100*. áu *52*, (MI.) *49*, *50*, (E.) *199*. -áu (Pk. *17*. -áú (Apa.) *83*. ává *140*. áya (Pk.) *51*. ā͡i *197*. ā͡u (E.) *195*, *197*.

ɔ (Per.) *185*, *190*, *191*.

ɕ (Per.) *180*, *184f*, *190*.

ɑ͡u (E.) *199*.

b (Per.) *161*, *163*, *164*, *188*, (E.) *199*, *200*. -bd- *34*. bh- *7*, *28*, *154*. -bh- *8*, *41*. bhn *35*. bhr *10*. bhr- *39*. -bhy- *38*. -bhyám *62*. -br- *10*, (E.) *203*.

c (Per.) *159*, *162*. c-, *6*, *28*. -c-, *16*, *29*. -cch- *9*. ch- (Pk.) *152*. -ch- *17*. -cn̆- *35*. conjunct consonants (Per.) *176*. csh (E.) *196*. -cy- *37*. cz (E.) *196*, *201*.

d (Pk.) *59*, (Per.) *160*, *163*, *165*, (E.) *201*. d- *28*, *57*, *59*, *60*. -d- *16*, *29*. db *34*. -dbh- *34*. d-c *34*. dd (Pk.) *59*. ddh *59*, (Pk.) *59*. -ddh- *9*. -dg- *34*. -dgh- *34*. -dgr- *40*. dh *59*, (Pk.) *59*. dh- *6*. -dh- *8*, *17*, *31*. -dhn- *35*. dhr *11*. dhr- *39*. -dhr- *10*, *39*. -dhy- *38*. dm *19*. dr (E.) *203*. -dr- *10*, *39*. -dy- *38*. dz (E.) *196*, *201*.

ḍ *128*, (Pk.) *91*. -ḍ-, *30*. ḍ- *7*. -ḍ (MI.) *88*. ḍh- *6*, *7*. -ḍh- *30*. -ḍr- *40*.

e (Per.) *180ff*, (E.) *195*, *197*, *198*. e- *3*, *16*. -e- *4*, *5*. -e *5*, *86*, *92*. ea (MI.) *49*, (Pk.) *52*, *53*. eá (MI.) *49*. -edhi *86*. -ehi (Pk.) *86*. ei (E.) *195*, *198*. eṣa- *127*. etad-. *127*. -eu- *140*. -eva- *140*.

f (Per.) *171ff*, (E.) *199*, *200*.

g (Per.) *158*, *159*, *162*, *165*, (E.) *199ff*. -g- *16*, *29*. -gdh- *34*. gh- *6*. -gh- *8*, *17*, *31*. ghr *11*. ghr- *39*. gl (E.) *203*. gn *19*. -gn- *34*. gr *39*, (E.) *203*. gr- *10*. -gy- *37*.

ɢ (Per.) *171ff*.

h (Per.) *170*, *180*, *190*, *191*, (E) *199*, *200*. h- *7*. -h- *8*, *17*, *33*, *44*, *65*, *67*, (MI.) *31*, *65*, (Pk.) *67*. -hv- *41*. -hy- *38*. ʜ (Per.) *170*.

i *4*, *44*, *45*, (Per.) *177ff*, *185*, (E.) *196*. i- *3*, *16*. -i- *4*, *5*, *16*, *45*, *140*. -i *21*. iə (E.) *199*. ia (Pk.) *52*. iá (MI.) *49*, (Pk.) *52*. iá (Pk.) *85*. ie (Pk.) *52*, (E.) *199*. ii (Pk.) *52*. -iká *83*, *84*, *125*. -ila *93*. -illa (Pk.) *93*. -in *84*, *91*. -iní *95*. -ita *98*. -iu (MI.) *49*. ɪ *148*, (Per.) *180ff*, (E.) *197*, *198*. ɪ- *3*, *15*, *45*. -ɪ- *4*, *5*, *16*, *140*. -ɪ *21*, (Per.) *84*. ɪa (MI.) *52*. ɪá (MI.) *49*. -ɪni *18*, *85*. -ɪya *84*, *91*.

J (Per.) *158*, *159*, *160*, *162*, *165*. j (Per.) *174f*. -j- *16*, *29*. jh (Pk.) *151*. jh- *6*, *7*. -jh- *17*. -jn̆- *35*. jr *11*. -jr- *39*. -jv- *40*. -jy- *37*.

k (Per.) *158*, *159*, *162*, *164*, (E.) *199ff*. -k- *8*, *16*, *29*, *98*. -k *96*, (MI.) *96*. -kára *129*. kh (Per.) *164*, *171ff*. -kh- *8*, *17*, *31*. khw (Per.) *175*. -khy- *38*. -kk- *98*. -kká (MI.) *97*. -kkh- (Pk.) *41*. kn *19*. kr (E.) *203*. -kr- *10*, *38*, *39*. -kṛta *96*. kṣ *19*, *42*. -kṣv- *42*. kṭ (E.) *203*. -kt- *34*. -kth- *34*. -ktr- *40*. -kv- *40*. -ky- *37*. -kya *97*.

l *27*, *60*, (Per.) *167*, (E.) *199*, *200*. l- *7*, *29*. -l- *7*, *19*, *32*, *66*. -l *91*. -la *93*. -lg- *19*, *40*. -ll- *9*. -lp- *19*, *40*. -ly- *38*.

m *61*, (Per.) *165*, *166*, (E.) *199*, *200*. m- *7*, *29*. -m- *9*, *18*, *31*, *64*. mb *132*, (E.) *203*. m+b *19*. -mb- *35*. mbh *19*. m+bh *19*. -mbh- *37*. -ml- *40*. mn (E.) *203*. mp *132*, (E.) *204*. m+p *19*. -mp- *35*. m+ph *19*. -mph- *36*. -mr- *40*. ms *19*. mṣ *19*. -my- *38*.

n *60*, *61*, (Per.) *165*, *166*, (E.) *199ff*. n- *7*, *16*, *28*. +-n *19*. -n- *9*, *18*, *31*. ṇ *60*. -ṇ- *9*, *31*. ń *36*. -n̆ *36*. -n̆c *35*. -n̆ch- *19*, *9*, *18*, *31*. -nd- *10*, *19*, *36*. -ṇḍ- *10*, *36*, *37*. -ndh- *10*, *36*, *37*. -ṇḍh- *36*. *36*. ng (E.) *204*. -ńg- *10*, *36*, *37*. -ńgh- *19*, *36*. -ni *18*, *94*, *95*. nis- *67*. -n̆j- *10*, *36*. -n̆jh- *36*. -ńk- *19*, *35*, *37*. -ńkh- *19*, *36*, *37*.

-nm- *37*. -nn- *9*. non-plosive +~ *11*. -nṣ- *19*. -nt- *35, 37*. -nṭ- *35*, (E.) *204*. -nth- *19, 36*. -nṭh- *19, 36*. -ntr- *39*. -ny- *38*.

o *140*, (Pk.) *140*, (Per.) *180ff*, (E.) *197*. o- *3*. -o- *4, 5*. -oṃa *53*. -omu- *140*. ou (MI. ?) *53*, (E.) *196, 199*. -ou- (Pk.) *140*.

p *128*, (Per.) *158, 161, 162*, (E.) *199, 200*. p- *6, 28*. -p- *17, 30, 31*. -pála *94*. ph *158*. -ph- *8, 31*. pl (E) *203*. pr (E.) *203*. pr- *10, 39*. -ps- *19, 42*. -pt- *34*. -punaḥ *95*. -py- *38*.

q *161, 164*.

r *39, 60*, (Per.) *166, 167*, (E.) *202*. r- *7, 29*. -r- *7, 19, 32*. ṛ- *60*. ṛ- *3 16, 45*. -ṛ- *45, 46*. -ra *88*. -rakaḥ *91*. Groups with -r, *33*. -rb- *39*. -rbh- *39*. -rc- *39*. -rc (E.) *203*. -rd- *39*. rḍ (E.) *204*. -rdh- *58*. -rdhv- *40*. -rg- *39*. -rgh- *39*. -rj- *39*. -rk- *38*. -rl- *39*. -rm- *39*. -rṃ- *39*. -rp- *39*. -rsh- *39*. -rṣ- *39*. -rt- *39, 58*. -rth- *39*. -rṭh- *39*. ṛtt *58*. -rv- *39*. -ry- *38, 39*.

s (Per.) *168*, (E.) *199, 200*. s- *7, 29*. -s- *8, 17, 33*. ṣ *150*. ṣ (Per. se) *168, 169*. ṣ- *6, 16, 152*. -ṣ- *8, 17, 32*. -se (Pk.) *97*. sh (Per.) *169*. sh- *6, 16, 29, 152*. -sh- *8, 17, 32*. -shc- *41*. shr- *152*. -shr- *40*. -sht- (Per.) *176*. -shv- *40*. -shy- *38*. sk (E.) *203*. sk- *41*. -ṣk- *41, 42*. sl (E.) *203*. -sm- *42*. -ṣm- *42*. -sn- *42*. -ṣṇ- *42*. sp- *41*. -sp- *41*. -ṣp- *41*. -sph- *41*. -ss- *9*. st *42*, (E.) *208*. -st- *41*, (Per.) *176*. -ṣṭ- *41*. sth *41*. ṣth *41, 42*. -stk- *41*. stop + stop *18*. -str- *40, 41*. -ṣṭr- *41*. sv- *40*. -sv- *40*. -sy- *38*. -ṣy- *38*.

t (Per.) *160, 162, 163*. t- *6, 28, 58*, (Pk.) *58*. -t- *16, 29, 58*. ṭ (E.) *201*. ṭ- *7*. -ṭ- *8, 30, 88*. -ṭ *91*. -tara *92*. th (Pk.) *59*, (E.) *196, 201*. -th- *8, 17, 31, 34*. ṭh- *7*. -ṭh- *30, 31*. -tk- *34*. -tkh- *34* -tkr- *40*. -tn- *19, 81, 82*. -tph- *34*. tr *133*. -tr- *10, 39*. -ts- *19, 42*. -tt- *58* (Pk.) *58*. -tth- (Pk.) *59*. -tv- *40*. -tva *88, 98, 99*. -tvam *88*. -tvanam *99*. -ty- *38*. -tya *98*.

u *4, 140*, (Per.) *177ff*, (E.) *197*. u- *3, 16*. -u- *4*, (Apa.) *94*. -u *21*, (Apa.) *85*. ua (Pk.) *52*, (Per.) *191*. -uá- (MI.) *50*. ud- *146*. ud+ka *148*. -uka *85*. -ukaḥ *5, 88*. uu (Apa.) *53*. ú (Per.) *180ff*, (E.) *197, 198*. ú- *3*. -ú- *4*. -ú *21*. úá (Pk.) *52*. úí (MI.) *50*.

v *131*, (Per.) *174f*, (E.) *199, 200, 202*. v- *7, 29*. -v- *8, 18, 19, 61*. -vaṭa *88*. -vaṭi *91*. visarga *21*. vy- *38*.

w (E.) *196, 201*.

y (Per.) *191*, (E.) *201*. y- *6, 7, 16, 29*. -y- *18, 19, 33*, (MI.) *16*, (Pk.) *53*.

z (Per.) *170ff*, (E.) *199*.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

Accent *138ff*;— shift *138f*, influence of — *139*; (also see *stress*).
Addition of sounds, in Persian *187*; (see *intrusion, prothesis*).
Agents of change VIII; contamination *120*. analogy *125*, loans— *130*, dialect mixtures *182*, accent *138*.
Analogy, *33, 62, 65, 68, 82, 85, 91, 93, 97, 98, 114, 145*; as an agent of change *125f*, assimilation by *125*, vowel formations *125ff*, nasality by *128*, tone *128*, consonantal formations *128*, grammatical formations *129f*.
Aphaeresis (Persian) *175*.
Apocope *164*.
Arabic element (included under 'Persian').
Aspiration *65f, 75, 115, 121*; in onomatopoeia *105*, of Persian consonants *162f, 172*.
Assimilation *10*; in Persian *164, 176*, in English *203*; (also see *consonant groups*).
Awankari [for examples see the Index of words and sounds], tract xiii, language xiii, affinities xiv, characteristics xiv*f*, place in Lahndi xv, boundaries xvii, sub-dialects xviii, phonetic features xix, grammatical features xxii, phonological features xxiv, vocabulary xxv*ff*, general xxvii*ff*.
Awans x, their origin xi, life xi, their habitat xii.

Borrowed words *68*.
Borrowing *88, 93, 153*; (see *'Loans'*).

Cerebralization, *7, 57, 115*.
Compensatory lengthening *43*.
Conjunct consonants; (see *consonant groups*).
Consonants *15ff*, single initial *6f, 16, 23, 28*, single intervocalic *7, 16f, 29*, double — *9*, — groups, *9ff, 16, 18, 33f, 65, 175f, 202ff*, final *21, 81ff*, nasal — *60f*, suffixal *82*, radical *82*, in onomatopoeia, *105*, change in echo-words *107*, by analogy, *128*, change by accent *142*, Persian — *158ff, 192*, English — *196, 199ff*, softening of — *201*.
Contamination *67, 85, 113, 120ff, 145, 152*; etymological *120f*, complex *122*, unetymological *123*, psychological *123*, nursery words *124*, hybrids *124*, obscure *124*.

Deaspiration *167*.
Deformities *145, 151*, in Persian *188*, in English *202*.
Denasalization *63, 186*.
Deshí IX, *73f*.
Devocalization *163*.
Differentiation *90, 135*.
Diphthongs *48ff*, in Persian *190f*, in English *198f*.
Dissimilation *163*.
Doublets, *29, 30, 64, 74f, 77, 99, 134, 152*.

Echo-words *107ff, 111, 112*, consonantal *107*, vocalic *107-8*, synonymous *108-9*, alliterative *109*, preceding *110*, antonymous *110*
Elision *139, 140f*, in Persian *189ff*; (see *syncopation*).
Enclitics *21, 85, 97*.
English element XI, vowels *195, 196ff*, consonants *196, 199ff*,

diphthongs *198f*, consonant groups *202ff*, syllable *203*, *204f*, stress *204ff*.
Extensions VI, *76*, *104*, in Persian *189*.
Extinctions II, *13*, initial *13f*, medial *16*, consonant groups *18f*, final *21*, visarga *21*, words *22*, general *22*, of Persian elements *164f*, *170*, *175*, *179f*, *183*, *185*; (also see *syncopation*, *haplology*, *contamination*, *Elision*).

Foreign element, *133*, X, XI.

Glide *16*, *17*, *23*, *53f*, *94*, *202*.
Guṇa-vṛddhi *43*, *47*, *139*; (also see *vrddhi*).

Haplology *20*, *205*; (also see *Extinctions*)
Homonyms *135f*.
Hybrids *124*.

Index *90*.
Innovations *82*, *85*, *89*, *91*, *92*, *96*, *97*, *99*, *154*.
Intensive words *110f*, repetitive *110f*, echoic *111*, synonymous *111*, adjectival *111*, loan *112*.
Interchange *28*; (see also *Modifications*).
Intrusion *68f*; (also see *addition*)
Irregular changes (see *Possibilities and Modifications*)

Lahndi tract ix, boundaries ix, forms x, xiv (also see *Awankari*)
Liaison *8*, *9*, *53f*.
Loans *7*, *9*, *43ff*., *130f*, from eastern languages *130ff*, dialectical *132ff*, tatsamas and semitatsamas *134f*, homonyms and synonyms *135*, Persian X, English XI; (also see *Borrowings*).

Metathesis *65*, *67f*, of Persian sounds *187*, of English sounds *205*.
Modifications III, IV, *81*, *88*, consonants *28*, irregular *28*, *29*, single vowels *42-48*, vowels in contact *48-55*, by loan *131-132*, of Persian consonants *161ff*, of Persian consonant groups *176*, of Persian short vowels *178*, of Persian long vowels *182f*, of Persian ʕa, ʕā *184*, of English vowels *195*, *196ff*, of English diphthongs *198f*, of English consonants *199ff*; also see *Umlaut*, *Guna-Vrddhi*, *P.S.M.*)
Monophthongs *50ff*.

Nasality *75*, *128*, *152*, — disappears *141*. (also see next)
Nasalization *60*, *128*, historical *61*, *186*, final *62*, analogical *62*, adverbial *62*, spontaneous *61*, *63*, *186*, independent *63*, regressive *186*, progressive *186*, of Persian element *186*, of English element *198*.
Nursery words *112f*, *124*.

Obscurities IX, *124*.
Onomatopoeia, xxvi, VII, *66*, *103ff*, *121*.
Over-Persianization *164*.

Persian element X, consonants *158ff*, consonant groups *175f*, semi-vowls *174*, vowels *177ff*, nasalization *186*, donasalization *186-187*, metathesis *187*, additional consonants *187*, deformities *188*, possibilities *188*, elision *189*, extensions *189*, vowels in contact *190ff*, effect of stress on *192*.
Phonetic Semantic Modifications (P.S.M.) V, *91*, *145*, *175*, in vowels *75*, by tone or aspiration. *75*, by nasality *75*, of consonants *76*, by extension *76*.
Possibilities IX, Persian *188*.
Preservations I, *31*, *69*, *85*, *88*, *139*, *142*, *151*, initial vowels *3*, medial vowels *4*, final vowels *5*, sporadic *5*, *8*, vowel gradation *6*, consonants *6f*, *15*, consonant groups *9f*, words *11*, stress *12*, Persian consonants *158ff*, *161*, *165f*, *172*, Persian semi-vowels *174-175*, Persian consonant groups *176*, Persian short vowels *177f*, Persian long vowels *180f*, English vowels *196*, English consonants *199ff*; (also see next).
Preserved words *11*, *135*.
Prothesis *69*.

Reconstructions in chap. IX.
Retroflexion *163*, *167*.
Rhythmic equivalence *20*.
Riddles of Phonology *152ff*.

Semi-tatsamas, *9*, *11*, *134-135*.
Semi-vowels, *19*, *174f*.
Sound symbolism *114ff*, diminution *114*, other feeling *115-116*.
Stress xxi, *12*, *16*, *19*, *21*, *33*, *64*, *65*, in Persian element *192*, in English element *204*.
Substratum *88*, *153*.
Suffixes *8*, *129*, nominal *82*, *83*, *87*, *88*, *89*, *90*, *92*, *94*, adjectival *82*, *84*, *91*, *92*, *93*, *97*, *98*, *99*, verbal *82*, *83*, *86*, *91*, *126f*, masculine *82*, *89*, *95*, *97*, *125*, feminine *83*, *85*, *87*, *89*, *91*, *92*, *93*, *94*, *95*, *125*, participial *82*, *85*, *86*, causal *82*, oblique *83*, *85*, of diminution *84*, *88ff*, *92*, *96*, adverbial *84*, *86*, *87*, *92*, *95*, *127*, of contempt *85*, plural *85-86*, vocative *87*, abstract nouns *84*, *87*, *88*, *98*, *99*, transitive-causative *87*, agental noun *87*, conglomerated *89*, *95*, deformity *89*, pronominal *90*, double *90*, nouns in apposition *93*, possessive *93*, infinitive *94*, gerundial *95*, onomatopoeic *96*, misc. *96*, *98*, *100*, *126* enclitic *97*, in Persian words *189*; (also see *Extensions*).
Svarabhakti *10*, *47*, *203*.
Syllable *15*, *16*, *19ff*, *114*, *142*, *175f*, *203*, *204f*, syncopation of *19ff*, in Persian *192*.
Syllabic division *203*; (see above).
Syncopation *19*, *100*, *123*, *141*, in Persian *179*; (also see *Elision*).
Syncope, *164*.
Synonyms *125*, *137*.

Tadbhavas *73ff*.
Tatsamas *11*, *134f*.
Terminational Extensions; (see *Suffixes*).
Tone *8*, *33*, *65*, *67*, *75*, *128*, *170*.

Umlaut *43*.

Vocabulary xxv, non-Aryan substratun xxv*ff*, Indo-Aryan element xxvii, foreign influence xxvii.
Vocalization *163*, *172*.
Vowels initial *3*, *15*, medial *4*, final *5*, *21*, *81ff*, before consonant groups *4*, short and long vowels *5*, modifications *42*, *43f*, influenced by [h] *44*, modifications in contact *48-53*, nasalized *61*, *198*, interchange in echo-words *107*, analogical formations *125ff*, lengthening by loan *130-131*, change *139ff*, Persian *177ff*, *190ff*, English *195*, *196ff*; (also see *Guna-Vrddhi*, *Nasalization* and below).
Vowel gradation *6*.
Vṛddhi *126*.